FBIS DAILY REPORT

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CEMA AID TO CUBAN CITRUS PROGRAM REPORTED

DW291420 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 28 Aug 83

[Rudi Wangermein answers listener's questions]

[Text] [Moderator Inge Uesseler] Gisela (?Ziehmann) from Cottbus has sent in the following question: I have heard something about a so-called citrus agreement concluded between Cuba and the CEMA countries. I should like to know more about this and am certain that the agreement does not only concern oranges from Cuba.

[Wangermein] No, there is certainly more to it than that. Due to its location and climate, this Caribbean country has especially favorable conditions for the production of citrus fruits. For this reason the Soviet Union, the GDR, the CSSR, Hungary, and Bulgaria concluded an agreement with Cuba on cooperation in the production and industrial processing of citrus fruits. The citrus agreement, as it is known for short, is valid until the year 2010 and envisages generous support for the expansion of the cultivation of grapefruit, oranges, mandarines, and lemons, as well as the establishment of the necessary processing plants.

So you see, in this way CEMA is helping to achieve the Cuban cultivation program for citrus fruits which the young socialist state could not finance alone. Alongside soil cultivation -- it is planned to increase the agricultural area by 165,000 hectares -- the main objective is to construct an irrigation system, in which large sums of money will have to be invested. This means, Mrs (Ziehmann), that the five CEMA countries will, according to the terms of the agreement, deliver machines and equipment worth R272 million to Cuba by 1985.

Our republic will build a processing plant in central Cuba and deliver the steel structures for the buildings; we will provide the entire air-conditioning installation, the boiler house and further plants, and will place engineers at the Cubans' disposal. Next year already the plant is to begin processing the fruit into concentrated fruit juices and marmalades. After its completion the combine will process 40 tons of fruit hourly.

By the way, the Soviet Union is concentrating on equipping packaging plants and will build in the deepwater harbor in Havana, Nuevitas, and Gerona, on the Isle of Youth, one of the four main cultivation centers -- modern loading facilities to enable the fruit to be exported. Bulgaria will supply pumping stations; the CSSR will provide tractors; Hungary will deliver systems for irrigation plants and for pest control. In cooperation with Cuban experts the CEMA countries are carrying out scientific-technological research, for example, in order to cultivate new strains of oranges, which, among other advantages, can be peeled more easily.

In return for this help, Cuba assures the CEMA countries of a supply of tropical fruit rich in vitamins. At present the socialist countries receive about 200,000 tons of citrus fruit annually from Cuba and, according to forecasts, the CEMA countries will in 1990 be able to draw on supplies of more than 2 million tons of fruit from Cuba.

FURTHER REACTION TO ANDROPOV MISSILE PROPOSALS

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Commentary

LD291031 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0157 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] Berlin, 29 Aug (ADN) -- The GDR paper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND publishes a commentary with the following text on Monday:

"New great step concerning Yuriy Andropov's initiative for new round in Geneva -- when is the West going to move?

It is no wonder that the new initiative of the Soviet Union for the safeguarding of peace in the world has met with such an exceptionally strong response: the constructive proposals proposed by Yuriy Andropov in his interview with PRAVDA correspond fully and totally to the vital interests, hopes, and endeavors of all people. We in the GDR have noted with pleasure the willingness for a further great step, intended to advance the disarmament question, which meets with our approval. It is yet another confirmation that the Soviet Union is the strongest and most resolute power of peace. Rooted deeply in the awareness of mankind is the great danger, the serious threat emanating from the imperialist course of nuclear arms buildup -- above all from the intention to begin shortly with the deployment of new American nuclear medium-range missiles in the FRG and other Western European NATO states."

"Now the Soviet Union with the statement of its leading representative has undertaken a further great step to achieve agreement at the negotiations with the United States in Geneva which will be resumed on 6 September, and to prevent a new round of the nuclear arms race in Europe. In case of mutually acceptable agreement, including the United States' renunciation of the deployment of new missiles in Europe, it has declared its willingness, through the reduction of its medium-range missiles in the European part of the country to a level that corresponds to the number of British and French missiles, to scrap the missiles to be reduced. A significant number of the most modern missiles, known in the West as SS-20, would in this case also be scrapped.

To fully appreciate the whole significance of this offer it has to be viewed in connection with the past, far-reaching proposals of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community of states, especially with Yuriy Andropov's initiative of December of last year, the Prague Declaration of the states of the Warsaw Pact of January, and the Moscow statement of the highest representatives of the socialist countries of June."

"The offer to limit the mutual potentials of nuclear medium-range missiles, as a first step towards a nuclear-free Europe, to the capacity of Great Britain and France; the Soviet Union's unilateral missile moratorium; its statement that it will not be the first to use nuclear arms, the GDR's willingness, in response to the known Swedish proposal, to make its whole territory available for a zone free from nuclear battlefield weapons, and our corresponding proposal to the FRG; the Soviet initiative to renounce the use of force in space and from space against the Earth; the offer of the states of the Warsaw Pact to the NATO member-states to conclude an agreement about the non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations -- all this shows how untiringly and consistently, how constructively and flexibly the socialist community of states works for the solution of the main question of our time, for averting the danger of a nuclear inferno and the lasting safeguard of peace. The other side reacted with evasions, distortions, suspicion or silence."

"As far as the nuclear missiles in Europe are concerned, the socialist states are in favor of a genuine zero solution, for the destruction of all nuclear arms on both sides, including medium-range and tactical ones. But the United States did not even want to talk about such a radical solution. They clothed their rejection in the demagogic "zero variant" of the United States, which Yuriy Andropov characterized correctly in his interview as: for the USSR zero missiles, and for NATO zero reductions.

"The Soviet Union has once again offered a far-reaching variant: to forgo the deployment of all new medium-range missiles in Europe and to reduce to about one-third the already existing ones, approximately 300 units on each side. To Western charges that within the framework of these 300 units the USSR could have more missiles than NATO, the Soviet Union stated its willingness to keep only as many medium-range missiles as Great Britain and France, in which case both sides would also have the same number of medium-range nuclear-arms-carrying aircraft. When it was suggested that the USSR would with the identical number of missiles have more warheads on their SS-20 missiles, it declared her willingness to negotiate about an identical number of carriers -- missiles and aircraft -- as well as of warheads.

"Honesty, consistency, and flexibility characterized the attitude of the Soviet Union and the socialist community. Its position is based on the only possible principle: equality and equal security. If the United States and its NATO allies were prepared to negotiate on the same basis, then things would run differently in Geneva, then it would not take long to achieve agreement there. Instead, the United States resorts to evasion and equivocation to block the negotiations, to deploy new missiles at any price and thus gain military superiority over the socialist states. In his interivew for PRAVDA Yuriy Andropov once again made impressively plain: The Soviet Union's flexibility has its limits. It and its allies will have to take corresponding countermeasures to preserve the balance of power at the regional, European, and global level, should the United States' position at the negotiations continue to remain destructive and biased, and the deployment of American Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe come about.

"As is known, the FRG is the main country for the deployment of this devilish equipment. The latest opinion poll in the FRG has shown that over 75 percent of FRG citizens are deeply concerned about and reject such a development. By turning the FRG into a launch pad for first-strike missiles, the danger of a war against the Soviet Union emanating from German soil would once again grow. The FRG itself would gain nothing in security but lose substantially. In view of the emphatic demands by many citizens to keep on negotiating rather than counterarm, it is hoped that the FRG leadership will re-examine its commitment to Washington's deployment plans and will resolutely work for success at the Geneva negotiations as long as this is still possible.

"Yuriy Andropov's statement knocks the bottom out of all slanderous claims that the USSR intends to keep the SS-20 missiles to be withdrawn and simply move them from Europe to Asia. The imperialist missile fanatics are obviously using such lies to try and divert attention from their dangerous arms drive. At the same time, the Soviet statement removes the basis for concern about the possibility of such a move expressed by China and Japan.

"In this connection, Yuriy Andropov said that China could make no small contribution toward solving the problems concerning the prevention of a nuclear war and ending the nuclear arms race. International public opinion has noted with great interest the willingness affirmed by the Soviet Union's highest representative to develop relations between the two countries, to agree on confidence-building measures, and to commence a political dialogue with the PRC about basic questions of developments in the world, above all about questions of strengthening peace and of international security.

Together with all peace-loving people, the GDR citizens, too, are of the opinion that an improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China -- in view of the sharpened international situation and the two people's interests in banning the war danger and in strengthening peace -- gains in importance and urgency.

"At the negotiations so far, the West has been trying to mask its rigid position directed against any agreement with the slanderous demand that the USSR has to 'move'."

"The new Soviet step and all preceding initiatives of the USSR as well as of the GDR and of other fraternal countries show who is genuinely moving for peace. The great opportunity offered by the Soviet proposals has had a stimulating effect on the peoples. Anyone persisting in the peace-endangering positions of refusal will become increasingly under the pressure of the peoples. Today it is more urgent than ever that all forces shouldering responsibility realize the opportunity for a change toward lasting peace, and to use it. The peoples expect the NATO states to finally reply seriously to the proposals of the socialist states. It is now the turn of the West. It is up to it to move, in the direction of peace and disarmament.

"'It is actions to end the nuclear arms race which show what words of peace and security are worth,' Erich Honecker said recently in Warsaw."

"'This applies especially to the Geneva negotiations. In view of the USSR's positions, based on high political and moral responsibility, agreements are still possible that will rule out the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe and provide for a corresponding reduction in the medium-range missiles in Europe. However, the precondition is that the West must give up its policy of obstruction and blackmail and accept the principle of equality and equal security as a negotiating basis; that is, consider the legitimate interests of the Warsaw Pact states.'"

RUDE PRAVO Response Cited

LD291137 Prague CTK in English 1032 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] Prague -- The new significant initiative of the Soviet Union presented by the highest Soviet representative Yuriy Andropov in Saturday's paper PRAVDA offers the United States and its allies an opportunity to consider their stand at the Geneva talks on the reduction of nuclear weapons in Europe, RUDE PRAVO said today.

The results of the talks in Geneva will influence not only the Soviet Union and the United States but the whole world. Its failure, and the deployment of new American missiles, would lead to stepping up the arms race and increasing the possibility of nuclear war, the daily stressed.

The Soviet official refuted assertions of some Western representatives and confirmed that the Soviet Union is ready to liquidate all its medium-range missiles in Europe [as received] if the United States does not deploy its missiles there. However, the response of the West to the words of Yuriy Andropov is not very encouraging. The White House demands in its first statement that British and French missiles are not taken into account while considering the balance of forces in Europe. The same is stated by West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Some NATO representatives are determined to enforce the deployment of new American missiles in Europe at all costs.

The reason must be sought in the U.S. strategy of confrontation with the socialist states, in the attempt to create a potential of the first nuclear attack, and the concept of the so-called "limited" nuclear war in Europe, the daily concluded.

SFRY Circles Welcome Initiative

LD291536 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Aug (TANJUG) -- The diplomatic editor of TANJUG reports that Andropov's initiative is seen in Yugoslav political circles as a significant contribution to efforts to overcome the pause in the process of negotiating a halt ot the arms race. Well-informed circles in Belgrade also mention that the Soviet Union's latest initiative to find a way out of the so-called "missile impasse" in which the missile reduction talks have found themselves, is now being studied in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

For the first time during the 15 months of talks on Euromissiles, the USSR has announced the possibility of destroying all its medium-range missiles, [as received], including a significant number of SS-20 missiles, which it would withdraw from the European part of its territory on the basis of an agreement with the United States and the NATO pact. This is stressed in the latest Soviet proposal which Yuriy Andropov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, presented during a conversation with a group of U.S. senators.

Polish Press Praises Proposals

LD291540 Warsaw PAP in English 1421 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] Warsaw 29 Aug -- Warsaw papers today extensively comment on the disarmament proposal submitted by Yuriy Andropov last week. The government paper RZECZPOSPOLITA says "the adoption of the Soviet solution would markedly reduce tension in the world and curb the arms race." "The Soviet Union has come up with a solution which provides for preservation of equilibrium," the paper added.

"In case the United States and the other NATO countries adopted the Soviet proposal, the move would mark a breakthrough both for Europe and for the world at large, as it would mean the first substantial reduction of one of the most dangerous means of destruction, which would take this continent back in terms of the arms race. We all could then witness an unprecedented fact in the world history: the destruction of nuclear missiles not because they are outdated but because commonsense got the upper hand," RZECZPOSPOLITA opined. "What is going to be decisive here is the U.S. stand at the next round of Geneva talks to start September 6," the paper added.

The PUWP paper TRYBUNA LUDU, in turn, said the proposal in question "opens up a new chance for the next round of Geneva talks."

Following two other unilateral moratoria, recently proclaimed by the Soviet Union, the latest one "marks another concrete and business-like manifestation of good will, a consistent peace policy, and full responsibility for the fate of Europe," TRYBUNA LUDU declared. "Hopefully, the White House will closely and seriously analyze the latest Soviet proposal before it takes an official stand on it. The community in Europe has long demanded of Washington a responsible approach to the vital problems of this continent," the paper said.

Dzhurov Lauds Proposals

AU271907 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 27 Aug 83

[Text] Sofia, August 27 (BTA) -- Mr Yuriy Andropov's latest proposals contained in his answers to questions posed by PRAVDA reflect the constant care of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries for preserving and strengthening peace, said today Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of national defense. In his speech at a meeting held in the town of Smolyan on conferring titles to the cadets of the military educational establishments, he said: "The world has witnessed that until now all significant proposals for consolidating peace, for peaceful co-existence, for detente have been made by the Soviet Union and the other socialist community states."

Army General Dobri Dzhurov stressed also Bulgaria's contribution to healing the situation in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world. He stressed that in the Prague Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries and in the document adopted at the Moscow conference of leaders of the seven socialist countries, Bulgaria among them, an answer was given to the most alarming questions of our time and the real ways for preserving peace were pointed.

Radically different is the approach of the imperialist states, Dobri Dzhurov said. Under the dictate of the USA in the last several years the West took another step towards the road of confrontation and preparation of a war. Special danger of the cause of peace is the decision for the deployment of new nuclear medium-range missiles on the territory of some West European countries by the end of the year, Bulgaria's minister of defense stressed.

HONECKER, DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER DISCUSS MISSILES

LD291304 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1123 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] Berlin, 29 Aug (ADN) -- On Monday, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received in the official headquarters of the Council of State, the minister of foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Denmark, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen. The guest conveyed to Erich Honecker cordial greetings from Queen Margrethe II of Denmark, which were reciprocated.

In the talk, Erich Honecker and Uffe Ellemann-Jensen expressed their satisfaction with the level of good-neighbourly relations between the GDR and Denmark. They stated their interests in expanding them further and continuing the political dialogue on a broad basis.

During the meeting, Erich Honecker stated that in view of the serious aggravation of the international situation, the GDR is acting on the basis of the special responsibility of the European states for arms limitation, disarmament and detente. The planned siting of new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe will be a fateful step that will significantly raise the danger of a nuclear confrontation on the European Continent. Erich Honecker expressed the GDR's conviction that the existing danger can be averted and that a path to improving the situation in Europe and the world can be found. He stressed that the proposals of the 5 May 1983 Prague Declaration of the Warsaw Pact member states, and the 28 June 1983 Moscow statement of the leading representatives of the socialist countries represent a realistic, acceptable program of initiatives for the solution of the most urgent issues of peace and war. At the same time, Erich Honecker pointed out that the USSR has always done everything to stop the arms race and reduce the danger of a nuclear catastrophe.

It demonstrated this only recently with its proposals to prevent the militarization of outer space. In particular, this was shown by the most recent statement by the highest representative of the USSR, Y.V. Andropov, concerning his country's willingness, provided that a mutually acceptable agreement is reached which would include the United States and which renounces the siting of missiles in Europe, to destroy all the missiles to be reduced in the scaling down of medium-range missiles in the European part of the USSR to the level corresponding to the number of missiles possessed by Britain and France. The GDR fully welcomes this step. It testifies to the USSR's determination to do everything to ensure the success of the Geneva negotiations on the reduction of nuclear weapons in Europe and avert the dangerous threat to European and international security posed by the siting of new U.S. first-strike weapons in Europe.

Assertions by Western politicians that the USSR does not want to destroy its missiles but merely move them to the Asian part of the country in order to bring them back at any time to the area of reduction, are thus refuted. The USSR declared once again: it does not make a claim to a single missile, missile carrier, or nuclear charge more than that possessed by the Western side. It is willing to destroy a considerable number of its most modern medium-range missiles if the United States approves an agreement that is strictly in line with the principle of equality and equal security. What matters, and will always matter most to the GDR is making a contribution to prevent a new round of the nuclear arms race which would further complicate the international situation. In this connection, Erich Honecker underlined the GDR's positive attitude to the Swedish proposal to create a zone free of battlefield nuclear weapons along the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The GDR also welcomes nuclear-free zones in Europe.

Uffe Ellemann-Jensen stressed that his government is also committed to safeguarding peace, to reducing tensions, and to broadening cooperation among the European states. The aim of his official visit to the GDR is to continue the political dialogue between Denmark and the GDR. He is convinced that his talks in the GDR will give new impetus to bilateral cooperation.

The GDR foreign minister, Oskar Fischer, and Heinz Eichler, secretary in the Council of State, took part in the talk, which proceeded in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere. Also present were the GDR ambassador to the Kingdom of Denmark, Heinz Oelzner, and the Danish ambassador to the GDR, Henrik Holgar Haxthausen.

After the talk the Danish foreign minister entered his name in the guest book of the chairman of the GDR State Council.

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES GDR'S MECKLENBURG 29 AUG

AU291807 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] On 29 August Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, received at the Eksinovgrad residence Ernst Mecklenburg, chairman of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, who is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of the BZNS Permanent Board.

During the friendly talk Comrade Todor Zhivkov highly evaluated the close cooperation between the two countries. He stressed that the two peasants' parties -- the BZNS and the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany -- are also contributing to enriching this cooperation. Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Comrade Ernst Mecklenburg expressed their concern with the exacerbation of the world political situation, further complicated by the intention of the U.S. Administration to deploy new missiles on the territory of some NATO member-countries. The peace proposals of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact member-countries point out the way of solving this situation. The newest USSR initiative, announced by Yuriy Andropov, CPSU Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in his PRAVDA interview is a new example of the peaceful policy of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact member-countries. Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Ernst Mecklenburg expressed full support for this initiative.

Petur Tanchev, BZNS secretary and first deputy chairman of the State Council, took part in the meeting.

TALKS WITH SYRIAN PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION BEGIN

AU291054 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] Talks between a National Assembly delegation led by Stanko Todorov and a Syrian Parliamentary Delegation led by Mahmud az-Zu'bi, People's Assembly speaker, are being held in Sofia.

During the talks the aggravated situation in the Middle East caused by Israel's aggressive policy, which is actively backed by the United States, was discussed. The need for a just solution of the Palestinian problem and for strengthening peace in this area was emphasized.

Comrade Stanko Todorov acquainted the Syrian parliamentarians with the tasks now facing the Bulgarian working people in the socioeconomic development of the country. The bilateral ties and cooperation between Bulgaria and Syria are also being discussed.

Mladenov Receives Delegation

AU291750 Sofia BTA in English 1709 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] Sofia, August 29 (BTA) -- Today Mr Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's foreign minister, received a delegation of the People's Council of Syria, headed by its Chairman Mr Mahmud az-Zu'bi, which is on a visit to Bulgaria.

Unanimous was the assessment that the Syrian-Bulgarian friendly relations are constantly developing in the two peoples' interests. The common wish for the two countries' further deepening of cooperation was confirmed.

Special importance was attached to the Middle East situation, and the policy pursued by the U.S. imperialism and Israel in that region was condemned.

Mr Petur Mladenov stressed again that Bulgaria backs up the struggle of the Syrian people against imperialism and Zionism and will continue to render them support in the future.

Highly esteeming the role of the socialist community countries in the struggle for peace, Mr Mahmud az-Zu'bi said that in its international activity Syria's Parliament backs up the socialist countries' peace initiatives. He spoke in favour of the latest Soviet peace initiatives.

BRIEFS

MACHINEBUILDING COOPERATION WITH GDR -- A GDR delegation of the Ministry of Heavy Machine Construction and Installation Construction led by Minister Rolf Kersten visited Bulgaria from 22 to 25 August. The delegation had talks with a delegation of the Ministry of Machinebuilding and Electronics headed by Minister Toncho Chakurov. The two countries coordinated the first working programs for accomplishing the tasks deriving from the documents signed by Comrades Todor Zhivokov and Erich Honecker on "basic trends toward expanding and developing economic and scientific-technical cooperation and toward further deepening the socialist economic integration between Bulgaria and the GDR up to 1990." [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 25 Aug 83 AU]

RADIO COMMENTS ON AUSTRIAN CHANCELLOR'S 'SLIP'

LD291918 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Station commentary]

[Text] In the last few years there has been a very pronounced improvement in relations between Austria and our republic. This was concretely illustrated by the official visit of Czechoslovak President Comrade Husak to Austria last year. The fact that this purposeful improvement of political, economic, and cultural contacts is in line with the interests of the peoples of the two countries is best illustrated by the concrete results of mutual cooperation.

Now, however, after Kreisky's departure and with the arrival of the new chancellor, Sinowatz, it seems that this clock has started moving backwards. A few days ago Chancellor Sinowatz gave an interview to a Vienna newspaper in which, admittedly, he said the foreign-political course of his government will remain without substantial changes, but at the same time he unscrupulously attacked our republic and likened it to a child who causes concern to his parents. In this context one cannot escape the impression that this is an expression of rabid hate felt by the, so to speak, successors of the former Hapsburg Empire who have not yet come to terms with the fact that the Europe of the 19th century belongs to the irretrievable past and that Socialist Czechoslovakia can do without Vienna's approval. Or was this simply a political blunder by a less experienced politician? True, Sinowatz added that he wanted better relations even with Czechoslovakia -- but then he should choose a different way. He's been at the head of the government for only a few months, and it is known that so far he has not reached the stature of his predecessor, Kreisky. Let us therefore take his statement as an injudicious slip and forget about it -- even though, using concrete facts, we could prove that if there is a cause for concern over anything, then it is the dangerous influence of reactionary Western forces on Austrian politics.

TV REPORT CITES TOMASEK DENIAL OF LETTER

LD291942 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] The Czechoslovak press agency CTK has just published the following report: During the past few days, the Western media waging psychological warfare -- Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America, and others including Vatican Radio -- have launched a new assaulting and slanderous campaign against Czechoslovakia. Quoting Austrian Catholic sources, they base their attacks on an alleged protest -- a letter from Prague's Cardinal Tomasek to state authorities. In view of the fact that this campaign is still continuing, we have asked the relevant state bodies to supply further information. We have received the following statement:

At the direct request of a representative of the state administration, the cardinal stated that he had not written, signed, or sent any letter. As far as its content is concerned, whoever wrote it bears full responsibility. The cardinal expressed indignation at the misuse of his person.

ANTI-SOVIET DEMONSTRATION IN BOHEMIA REFUTED

LD300838 Prague International Service in Czech and Slovak 2230 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] The report about an alleged anti-Soviet demonstration, which was to have occurred, according to AFP, in Pisek in southern Bohemia last week, is not based on truth.

Therefore there could be no reason for the Czechoslovak security bodies to intervene and to carry out, as it was alleged, an investigation into the demonstrations. This report is a part of a long-range campaign by Western information media waged against Czechoslovakia. The reactionary anti-socialist circles are attempting in this way to disturb the peaceful life of the Czechoslovak people and the building of an advanced socialist society in Czechoslovakia.

AUTHORITIES REFUSE HAJEK PERMIT TO GO TO HUNGARY

AU300717 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 0710 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] Prague -- The Czechoslovak authorities have denied former foreign minister and Charter 77 signer Jiri Hajek an exit permit to travel to a peace congress in Hungary. The 70-year-old Hajek was invited to the peace congress of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences that opened yesterday in Gyor. Hajek is being watched by the police around the clock. With this action the authorities want to prevent Hajek from sending a written message to the congress.

HOFFMANN VISITS AGRICULTURAL EXHIBITION

LD292333 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Excerpt] Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, visited the Land of the Provider agricultural exhibition in Ceske Budejovice and inspected the Soviet Union's display which illustrates fulfillment of the food program.

BRIEFS

DROUGHT AFFECTS FIELDS -- Precipitation in South Moravia has been unusually sparse since July, adversely affecting the waterways in the region and smaller waterworks reservoirs. Some smaller rivers have dried up completely. The Znojmo, Breclav, and Hodonin Districts report a deficit of 310 liters of water per square meter of the fields. The figure for the Trebic, Zdar nad Sazavou, Jihlava Districts, and partly also Blanensko District, is 120 liters. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Aug 83 p 2 AU]

COAL INVESTMENT -- This year the North Bohemian brown coal basin is expected to deliver almost 68 million tons of coal; the figure toward the end of the current 5-year plan is 71 million tons. Current investments in the basin amount to almost Kcs14 billion. One of the largest investment projects is the construction work in the Vrsany pit of the Lezaky Mines Concern Enterprise in Most; this mine is to ensure the annual extraction of 6.4 million tons of coal by 1985. The mine is expected to produce up to the year 2000, and it is expected to yield a total of 250 million tons of brown coal. Significant investment projects are underway, or planned, in the Most pit, the Jan Sverma Mine in Holesice, and the Grand Czechoslovak Army pit in Komorany. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Aug 83 p 1 AU]

CZECH FIELD WORK PROGRESS -- By 22 August in the Czech lands grain had been harvested on 97.2 percent of the area sown, flax on 16.9 percent of the area, and winter rape had been sown on 25.4 percent of the planned area. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Aug 83 p 1 AU]

STOPH, FISCHER RECEIVE DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER

LD291505 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1413 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] Berlin 29 Aug (ADN) -- On Monday Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received the foreign affairs minister of the Kingdom of Denmark, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, for a talk. Proceeding from their mutually advantageous cooperation, the interlocutors discussed possibilities for further cooperation in various areas that would meet the interests of both sides and peoples and serve peace. Willi Stoph and Uffe Ellemann-Jensen agreed that more intensive efforts were needed for the maintenance of peace through an end to the arms race and arms limitation. Commonsense and responsibility were required in retaining and consolidating the positive results in the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, in the further development of cooperation between East and West. The GDR in this connection attributed great importance to a positive outcome to the Madrid meeting, Willi Stoph stated.

Taking part in the meeting were Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs and his deputy, Kurt Nier, as well as the GDR ambassador to Denmark, Heinz Oelzner, and the Danish ambassador to the GDR, Henirk Holger Haxthausen.

This morning the Danish foreign minister paid tribute to the victims of fascism and militarism by laying wreathes at the memorial in Unter den Linden. Afterwards GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and his Danish counterpart started their official talks in the Foreign Affairs Ministry.

RECENT ARMY FIELD REPAIR EXERCISES REPORTED

DW300900 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Summary] The (Baldruschat) troop component recently held a field repair exercise under combat conditions. When reporter Rainer (Polzer) reached the field station of the unit, he found "soldiers on guard duty, repair trucks in the woods covered by camouflage nets so that they could be spotted only at very close range, power generators running, welding being done on T-55 tanks preparatory to their inspection and repair, cranes moving heavy loads and tanks on the test run." All these operations were done under combat conditions and with "full protective equipment at temperatures above 30 degrees centigrade." The reporter learned from Junior Lieutenant (Bredow) that this exercise not only marked the "high point in this current training year, but also is the first such repair exercise held on this scale under field conditions." His platoon received "A" marks for repair work and target practice as well as for the fulfillment of the "norms of complex training" which include "tactics and protective training".

In the (Baldruschat) troop component First Lieutenant (Kuegeler) is responsible for testing the repaired tanks because he is the "deputy commanding officer for technical equipment and armament." He told the reporter that the tanks repaired by the crew of Junior Lieutenant (Br dow) met the "quality requirement" for combat fitness of the tanks.

The reporter also interviewed Reserve Private First Class Wolfgang (Bitz) who is on reserve duty in the unit and handles the replacement of the hydraulic pump, the oil and fuel conduits and other chores on the tank. During his basic training (Bitz) was a tank mechanic, but in the meantime he has learned a lot more, including "turret removal" from a tank.

LOSONCZI RECEIVES JAPANESE DIET DELEGATION

LD291631 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] Hungarian-Japanese relations are developing satisfactorily, but further possibilities exist for developing them in the economic and cultural fields. This was noted at their talks today by the parliamentary delegations of Hungary and Japan. The Japanese delegation, headed by Hajime Fukuda, president of the lower house, arrived in Hungary yesterday at the invitation of Antal Apro, president of the National Assembly. Apart from the talks, the Japanese delegation will be briefed about the methods of Hungarian economic management, labor economy, and welfare provisions.

After the talks in the parliament building, Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, received the Japanese deputies.

BRIEFS

ARMY DELEGATION TO AUSTRIA -- Budapest, August 26 (MTI) -- Led by Colonel-General Istvan Olah, chief-of-staff of the Hungarian People's Army and deputy minister of defence, a military delegation visited Austria from August 22 to 25 on the invitation of General Heinz Scharff, chief inspector of Austria's Federal Army troops. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 26 Aug 83 LD]

NEMETH SEES BARULLI -- Budapest, August 19 (MTI) -- Karoly Nemeth, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, held talks in the Central Committee's headquarters on Friday with Umberto Barulli, general secretary of the Communist Party of San Marino, currently on a short holiday in Hungary on the invitation of the HSWP. In the course of the friendly and comradely meeting, the politicians briefed each other on the current aims of the two parties. The sides discussed the international situation, and important issues of the communist and working class movement and confirmed their readiness to further inter-party relations. Present was Laszlo Kovacs, deputy head of the HSWP CC's Foreign Affairs Department. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 19 Aug 83 LD]

LOSONCZI PRESENTS AWARD -- The order "For a Socialist Hungary" has been conferred on Ferenc Sebestyen, lieutenant general of the police, on the occasion of his 60th birthday. The decoration was presented by Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 22 Aug 83 LD]

COMMEMORATIVE ACTIVITIES PLANNED FOR 31 AUGUST

Walesa To Lay Wreath

NC261419 Paris AFP in English 1402 GMT 26 Aug 83

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Aug 26 (AFP) -- Leader of the banned Solidarity trade union Lech Walesa has warned the authorities that he will lay a wreath at the monument to the victims of the 1970 Gdansk riots on August 31, third anniversary of the Gdansk Accords which gave birth to Solidarity.

In a letter addressed to the Gdansk authorities yesterday and made public today, he said he would lay the wreath immediately after leaving work at the Lenin Shipyards.

"If people gather at the spot I will address them to give them my point of view on the third anniversary of the Gdansk Accords", he said, expressing the hope that there would not be any incidents.

"This will be the case as long as nobody attacks people placing flowers at the monument," he said, pointing out that similar ceremonies on June 3 and August 15 had gone off peacefully.

'Flower Laying' Arranged

LD291147 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 0503 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] There is still enormous interest being aroused by the Thursday meeting by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski with the workforce of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk.

An expression of this was the invitation to the port of Gdansk last Saturday of Edward Kijeck, secretary of the voivodship committee of the party, to share with the port's workforce the reflections and comments of that meeting.

Answering a question concerning the possibility of laying flowers at the monument of shipyard workers on 31 August, the secretary of the voivodship committee informed that times will be appointed at which representatives of workplaces, trade unions and socio-political organizations in the Tri-city, and also individuals, will be able to lay bunches of flowers. There will be similar arrangements in Gdynia.

Failure to comply with this or an attempt to break the principles fixed, by choosing another time of day, will be treated as provocative activity aimed at breaching the peace and will meet with determined opposition, together with all legal consequences resulting from that act.

Protest Planned

NC292044 Paris AFP in English 2001 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 29 (AFP) -- Thousands of tracts were today distributed throughout the Polish capital and Gdansk calling on the population to follow a call by the outlawed trade union Solidarity for protest action on Wednesday.

Solidarity called for demonstrations and a boycott of public transport on August 31 to mark the third anniversary of the signing of the Gdansk Accords, which gave rise to the independent trade union.

The tracts called on the population to stage mass demonstrations after work and during the transport boycott, planned from 2:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.

The leaflets also invited Poles to organise other forms of protest, such as holding evening mass, to express their support for Solidarity.

RAKOWSKI 25 AUG ADDRESS AT LENIN SHIPYARD

LD281756 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1800 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Address by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski at his meeting with workers at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk on 25 August -- recorded]

[Text] I can see from the whistling and shouting in this room that we do not hold the same views on various matters. [shouts from audience] But I think that we can agree on one thing: Will you allow me to take off my jacket and tie because it is too hot? May I? [shouts from audience] What do you mean I will need the tie? [shouts from audience] To get hanged? Yes? [shouts from audience] Alright. [shouts from audience] That was my first comment.

Here is my second: I would like to ask that our meeting take place in the atmosphere that should accompany a conversation between people who can show that they have reached a certain level of culture.

I am pleading with you not to express your feelings in the form I heard a moment ago. I am aware that this is an organized action, as it usually is in such cases. [shouts from audience] I would like to ask you not to make me stop my speech. I don't want to have to stop speaking.

Before I come to my address -- or statement -- I would like to ask you here in the hall to participate in a certain little test: I would like to know how many nonparty people there are in the hall. Would they please raise their hands? [shouts from audience] Nonparty, nonparty: quite a number. [noise from audience] How many party people are there? [shouts and noise from audience] Well, I think I asked a moment ago... [interrupted by shouting from the audience] No, not everybody. Please, party people in this row, for example, raise your hands. In this one. [noise and shouts from audience] Yes, [word indistinct] As one can see -- As one can see, the majority in the hall is nonparty. I heard from the director -- and so did you -- that there are representatives of all sections in the shipyard here.

Why do I say this? Because yesterday Radio Free Europe said that the deputy premier is not showing so much courage because he is to speak only to 500 carefully selected shipyard workers at a meeting attended only by ticketholders. [shouts from hall: "That is how it is."] So one comes to meet his people. I would have been very glad if I could say that all those here are my people, meaning that they support the policy I represent as a member of the government. [shouts from audience: "Hang your leader."] [laughter from audience]

I am asking you once again to behave in a civilized manner, because this is the measure of the feeling of responsibility -- yes, I can hear whistling: let them whistle -- they only show what they are capable of... [interrupted by shouts from audience] lack of confidence is not expressed by whistling or stupid smiles. [noise from audience] Don't be insulted: It was not I who was whistling. It is a certain group in this room, not me. So far I have not said a single word that could make you whistle, and even if I were to say such a word... [interrupted by shouts from audience] Just a minute. Even if I were to say such a word, you still should not whistle, because I will not whistle if you speak after me and say what I do not like. Let us learn good manners. [shouts from audience] Alright. Alright. Speak as much as you like: What do you want?

As soon as we start our meeting this common row -- if you pardon the expression -- starts. Sorry but I am not used to this kind of conversation. [Shouts from audience: "We got used to this because of you."] No, nobody got you used to this, esteemed colleague or citizen. Therefore, I think that we have established the rules: The rules are that this is to be a serious talk. If not, then we shall see what we can do. [Shouts from audience: "What can you do?"] Yes, there is always a chance to interrupt if this is not a conversation. True? [shouts from audience]

I want to begin by saying that I am here in the shipyard for the second time this year. When I was here in March it was to attend the meeting of the party aktiv. After leaving, or during the break, I met a certain shipyard worker who said to me: Do not come only to meet with party meembers but come to talk to us, nonparty members. Then, in March, I promised him that whenever I had the opportunity I would come. If I say that I had already made by decision to come here in March, that is because when recently the news spread that I was coming to the shipyard, some people said that the authorities are anxious and that they must quiet and reduce the tension in the country, so Rakowski allegedly had to interrupt his holiday and go to Gdansk. This is not true. As I said, I had intended to come here again. I have come here to talk about the agreements and about the circumstances that have accompanied those agreements. I also do not conceal that with my reasons and arguments I am trying to reach the greatest possible number of people -- those who are hesitating and those who are standing on the sidelines, and perhaps also those who today are against us. After all there are such people, and not just in this hall. I think that the only people I will not be able to reach are those who are inexorable in their hate or animosity. I think that time will cure them, or maybe not. Anyway, in my opinion time is already curing many people.

With regard to this hall: This is where the historic accord was signed. When the invitation from the yard arrived, I chose from among various proposals and suggested that this meeting should take place precisely here, in this historic hall. Coming to the yard, I would like also to say that recently in particular we have been meeting with the allegation that the authorities do not want to talk with the workers. This is being shouted by Western propaganda bullhorns, but here in various parts of Poland such voices can also be heard. I say this as an aside to the so-called ultimatum that has been presented to the government. I personally think that the allegation that the authorities do not want to talk with the workers is not serious, because we talk with workers every day. We visit factories, and we visit them even without any forewarning. If anybody here wants to, they can ask the workers from Walter in Radom, or workers from other factories, for example the metallurgical factory in Konin, whether they have not been visited there by representatives of the government -- I am thinking in particular of myself, because I have been there -- without any kind of warning. Even in the press there is no information on this subject. We are talking to workers because we believe that those who govern can gain quite a lot from these discussions; they allow many decisions to be pondered upon, or simply permit us to prepare a particular decision in a way that best corresponds to the needs or expectations of the working class.

Why have I selected a shipyard? Because here one of the important agreements was born. But not only for this reason. I decided to come to the shipyard because I know, as you also know very well, that from this shipyard have been emerging -- and not just today -- appeals, summons to remain in opposition and in resistance, to organize demonstrations, in short to provide facts that are to testify to the whole world that the future of Poland is uncertain and clouded.

Needless to say the enemies of socialism are exploiting this. In the past few days for example the bourgeois press has repeated that the country is on the boil, that a difficult week is starting, that we are witnessing a renewed exacerbation of the situation in Poland, that Gdansk is showing its claws, and so forth.

Simply, Poland must remain a restless country. Well I did not come to extinguish a fire in Gdansk, because there is no such fire. Calm prevails in Gdansk. It is easy to prove that there is steady work. In Gdansk and throughout the country, during those difficult days -- not in view of the anniversary, but difficult in general in view of the still imperfect economic situation -- the majority of Poles worked in a completely normal, steady manner, as always.

I said at the outset, and I want to reiterate that I would like to have a chat here not only about agreements, but about all the matters related to the stances I have mentioned and about our very often common experiences of the past 3 years. Maybe I will succeed in clearing up certain misunderstanding.

Before I talk about current matters, let me begin with a review. The party leadership and the government were and remain supporters of deep changes in the economy and the social life of the country. I myself presented this view in POLITYKA long before August 1980. When it came to the workers' protest, I said that it was justified and that one has to draw right conclusions from it. But at the same time -- and I want to remind you of it -- I called then for reason, moderation and caution. I can prove it.

On 6 September 1980, when I was still the editor of POLITYKA, I wrote in this periodical, I quote: The necessary and justified changes in internal policy have to be in full accordance with the requirements of national security. They canno' infringe on it in any way. Poland does not end with our generation. So we enter an uneasy period. If, however, we wisely guide our affairs, and we demonstrate reason and moderation, we will certainly come out of the present crisis with the nation strengthened morally and politically.

Poland needs not only peace now. It needs renewed political thought aimed at strengthening the socialist Polish state. This thought has to enrich socialist democracy, to realize the participation of the working class and all working people in managing the national economy and in giving shape to state policy. In the creative search we should avoid extreme positions. We should avoid the idealization of both individuals and whole social groups. Realism is needed by all of us, because we all are facing a serious test of responsibility for the Polish State.

On the eve of this publication, I rose to speak in the Sejm. I said then, in the Sejm in September 1980: When I speak about a strong state, I do not mean a state that has the aim of muzzling the people. Our people's socialist state has to be a democratic state. It has to be supported by real, not forced acceptance of the masses -- not only the working class, but also working farmers and the intelligentsia. But it has to be also an orderly state. All its citizens have to understand that there are limits to political and economic concessions. The state cannot endlessly give in to the pressure of economic demands, even justifiable demands. So, all parties participating in solving the conflict that has arisen should be realistic -- all parties means those governing and those governed. If this does not happen, we will make a poor show to the whole world and especially to our allies, the socialist countries, and the whole progressive camp.

We face responsibilities that extend beyond our borders. Those whose wings are growing today, because they think that the time has come when one can question the (?permanent values) of socialism on Polish soil and the leading role of the party, should remember this.

Please permit me one more (?quotation). At the seventh Central Committee plenum on 1 December 1980, I said this about Solidarity: At one pole there are millions of working people, including many party members, who have joined Solidarity, because they have perceived in it a force capable of effectively defending their interests. At the other pole of Solidarity, there are leading groups, arising from a spontaneously forming movement, surrounded by advisors, including many of our political opponents.

From the viewpoint of the further development of the political situation in Poland, a considerably more important issue is the predominant view among the Solidarity leaders. Do they favor cooperation with the state and therefore with the party and its traditional allies, or do they favor further destabilization of an already exceptionally difficult situation? The development of the situation in the past 3 months unfortunately leads to the conclusion that the second course has dominated up to now. Constantly setting new demands, often certainly justified; leading individual groups of workers to more and more new strikes; making strikes a way of life, the widespread leaflet campaign; aggressive statements in tone and content, often striking at the party and the government -- that is what Poland is experiencing every day. It is obvious that maintaining or even stepping up that course, whether one wanted it or not, had to open the way to political demands. There are people in Solidarity who dream of the destruction of all previous structures of the state. Is this activity in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Gdansk and Szczecin agreement? This question ends the quotation cited here from my statement.

Please forgive me. This is perhaps quoting too much from one's own previous remarks, but I have done it for several reasons: First, to recall that I was a determined supporter of the socialist renewal, begun by the protest of the working class.

In the second place I have been urging prudence and wisdom and a sense of responsibility for the state right from the outset. And in the third place, my criticism of certain Solidarity activities, which I have displayed in 1981, was not due to the fact that I became vice premier but had deeper roots. What I said then and now has its roots, and allow me this, in such an image of Poland as I presented to the millions of POLITYKA readers in the autumn and winter of 1980. I have also been submitting this point of view in television appearances to millions of Polish television viewers.

Going over to the presentation to you of our point of view on the agreements, their implementation, and in order to clear the ground I should like to explain yet another matter -- this is our attitude to people who are critical of the party and the government policy. In Poland many people are critical, for all kinds of reasons that are often justified. In the government we too are not pleased with a number of things. We place the responsibility on ourselves, though not everything depends on us. We accept censure, even sharp censure, as a natural phenomenon. This too is a result of the agreements signed in August 1980.

But I should like to add that we distinguish unequivocally between citizens adopting a critical attitude to our policy and our individual actions, and those who deliberately cause trouble and exploit every fact deserving criticism for the fight against socialism. Whatever we do, whatever we say, they will oppose everything: 'No' is all they have to say. To this category of citizens, not only these present here or working in the shipyard, I direct the following appeal: If you are not convinced of the justness of our policy, or if you doubt its effectivenss, at least do not impede the achievement of objectives that are important to many millions of people in Poland. Poland does not end in Gdansk. Nor does it end with some queer, secret commission that has appeared here in the shipyard. [jeering from audience] Visit thousands of small towns, cities, villages, and housing estates and ask what the people living there want.

The answer is simple: They want calm, law and order. [shouts from the audience] a constant rhythm of well-considered transformations and reforms, and improvement in the material conditions of life -- better supplies. And how are these values to be achieved? By work at a snail's pace?

Let's go on now to the agreements. There is a thesis that they are not being implemented. That thesis is not to be taken seriously and is voiced by people who should not be taken seriously. This view is expressed with the idea of stirring things up. All the fundamental points have been implemented. [jeering from audience]. Yes, [shouting from audience] we have settled accounts. [noise from audience]

Did I not ask for calm, for no interruptions? [shouting from audience] Once again, I ask for calm. [shouting from audience] If somebody needs to shout, let him do it at home and outside in the fresh air, where the lungs work better. [shouts from audience]

Go ahead: You can leave. I'm not keeping you here and I won't keep you, because I just want to speak to people. [shouts from audience] That is just pure demagogy. Is there a difference between my talking to a worker outside the hall or here in this hall? The difference occurs if I try to talk and my supposed partner starts shouting his head off.

I return to my main thought. [shout from audience] We are settling accounts twice: We have publically settled accounts regarding what has been implemented under those agreements twice, and the majority of the postulates have been implemented. I will not report in detail on this here. Material has been published, which should be referred to, that shows the specifics of the implementation of the agreements. I would just like to say that the whole socioeconomic policy since August 1980 has been shaped in the spirit of the agreements. This is a historic fact. Today Poland is a different country from what it was before August 1980 as regards the way of exercising authority, and seeking out and taking into consideration the working class' opinions. A new style of work, and new institutions guaranteeing the most faultless policy possible -- and this I stress, for there is no completely faultless policy -- this is the essence of our policy, based on the agreements.

Returning to the agreement signed here, the working class, working people, thought that the most important achievement was the creation of independent, self-managing trade unions as a result of the agreements. Such trade unions are coming into being at present. [uproar from audience] And so... [shouts from audience] Well, then where is Solidarity, someone may ask? [shouts from audience]

If my question were not accompanied by these shouts I would say that the question -- where is Solidarity? -- is justified. The Gdansk agreements envisaged the creation of independent, self-managing trade unions, and Solidarity came into being. [shout from audience] This first approach to the implementation of the agreements, I answer -- I will answer with arguments. [sentence as heard] This first approach to the implementation of the agreements, in my opinion, was not a success for all of us. Now I will probably cause renewed shouting, but it is my view that, despite the agreement, Solidarity was not a classic, or semiclassic, trade union. In a short time and by the will of its leaders -- often steered by advisers -- it became a purely political organization. In March 1981, at a meeting with the Solidarity leadership -- I stress: in March 1981 -- I told Mr Walesa, and I quote: I cannot help getting the impression that more and more Solidarity cells are being transferred into political parties. You may deny it, but the facts tell of this metamorphosis. The country is flooded with leaflets, posters, and newspapers of an anticommunist content. One of the papers wrote: Ninety days of the Jaruzelski government, 90 gallows for PZPR dignitaries.

It is hard to call that partnership. After the initial several months Solidarity drifted further and further towards a force opposing the socialist state -- a force fighting against the government. It did not come out openly against the party at that time because, to tell the truth, the idea of struggle with the party had not yet matured, and so the object of attack was the government. It is obvious that the government is also composed of members of the ruling party -- the PZPR. My deepest conviction is that unfortunately, Solidarity became a force destroying the historic achievements of people's Poland. [shouts from audience] I know that such blunt descriptions meet with [word indistinct] from a certain section of my fellow countrymen. At the back of the hall they will protest, saying: Rakowski is fiercely attacking Solidarity again. No. I am far from fierce attacks. I too -- I too, like millions of Poles, counted on Solidarity, [shouts, jeers from audience] on its playing a positive role. If so, -- if this is supposedly demagogy -- all right, then: Let's look at the pages in the history of People's Poland where Solidarity appears. I think that this examination [shouts from audience] will not be a boring list of facts. I want to recall some facts, and then I will ask for comment on those facts.

Let us take 24 September 1980 for the starting point.

On the subject of the agreements, Lech Walesa states: It is a fact that some demands were and perhaps are excessive, but we are counting on being able to implement them by good work. [prolonged applause] That day an application was made to the court for the registration of Solidarity. Here I (?answer) the question: Why did you not want to register Solidarity? The text of the statute, the formula entered in the Gdansk agreement, states that the new trade unions will not function as political parties: That they will observe the principles of the Constitution of the PPR, recognize the party's leading role, and respect our alliances, was omitted. In point of fact this -- that is, the refusal to write those formulas into the statute -- was the political opposition's first attempt to break the August agreements.

The court thought it essential to declare those principles, and tried, to be frank, to force these principles on the Solidarity leaders. Let's see what happened next: On 3 October Solidarity organized a nationwide 1-hour strike on the pretext of speeding up the implementation of wage demands even though on 6 September the Council of Ministers had already made a decision regarding wage increases. As can be seen, the good work stage, which the above-quoted Lech Walesa had spoken about a moment before, was beginning. Tactically, it -- that is, the strike -- was a show of strength.

In an interview for CORRIERE DELLA SERA, an Italian paper, on 10 October 1980 the union's chairman stated: We know that strikes do not make it easier to implement economic plans, but we, with our sense of responsibility and our activeness, are counting on putting a stop to them in the future.

I ask you to remember those words with our sense of responsibility. The dispute over the entry in the statute went on throughout October. Commenting on this dispute at a meeting in Jastrzebie, Lech Walesa said: Solidarity will not yield to the authorities' demands and will not alter the statute. And it did not. The entry was made as a supplement to the statute. On 11 November the court registered the statute and the union. A representative of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] said: We shall all try to work honestly, honestly sharing the results of our labor. Well, let us see how things looked in the months that followed.

On 18 November -- I am still speaking of 1980 -- a KKP meeting was held in Szczecin. There was economic crisis in our country. It was precisely at this meeting that the demand for the introduction of all free Saturdays in 1981 was put forward. At the same time, there were strikes in Gdansk, Katowice, Warsaw, Czestochowa, and other towns. Some of these strikes were in the nature of a substitute. Thus, what does the essence of Solidarity's activities at the time boil down to? Demands for higher wages and shorter working hours are interspersed with strikes.

The question arises: Who was to work for the affluence that was demanded? On 20 November the Sejm appealed for everyone's active support for initiatives aimed at socioeconomic stabilization. Strikes, the Sejm said, are a very expensive method and should not be returned to in the country's specific situation. This was, however, only the beginning of banging the head against the wall. [as heard] This also went on in the months that ensued. Solidarity authorities did not respond to the Sejm's appeal. Evidently, Solidarity leaders understood the sense of responsibility that I mentioned earlier in a different way from normal people.

On 25 November news bulletins said that there was continuing unrest throughout the whole country. Work forces from nine mines were on strike in Katowice Voivodship. In Wroclaw sit-in strikes were staged in public buildings. A new method of struggle appeared. It would later be used quite frequently.

The Seventh Central Committee Plenum was held on 2 December 1980. It adopted an appeal that said: All Poles are becoming anxious about the future fate of the homeland, the preservation of the fruits of the hard postwar toil, and the tomorrow for Polish families. Time has come for all realistically thinking people to unite around the common line of good sense and responsibility. The strike actions, slackness, and low work productivity that have been going on for 5 months, the appeal stresses, are resulting in constant deterioration of the already extremely difficult economic situation, striking at the common interest, and delaying the chance to overcome the crisis. Let us oppose the further escalation of unrest. Let us create a front of good sense and responsibility in defense of socialist renewal. The appeal remained unanswered by the Solidarity leadership.

On 3 December the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defense expressed profound anxiety with the situation, which constituted a threat to the social order and functioning of the state. The continuation of this situation, states the Military Council, threatens our country's defensive potential. There were at least 12 or so such appeals and warnings in the coming months. They did not make any impression on the leadership of Solidarity. The voice of the armed forces, which are called upon to defend our borders, should have made someone think. Nothing of the sort is noted in the chronicles of modern history.

1980 has ended: What will the next year bring? This question was asked by Poles on New Year's Eve. One did not have to wait long for an answer. On 7 January the Solidarity KKP passed a resolution stating that in 1981 all Saturdays will be work-free, contrary to the government's decisions. How can one describe this? There is only one description in the civilized world: placing oneself above the law and the state. Demands for shorter working time did not have an economic character, but were suggested by the opposition as a political demand. Solidarity experts and advisers knew that the state could not afford all free Saturdays: This is not Japan yet. So why did the experts and advisers push the leaders of Solidarity in this direction? Because they wanted the economy to disintegrate and chaos and hunger to reign, because then one can reach for power shouting: Look what the communists have done through their government. [shouting from audience]

On 16 January a new wave of strikes starts on the coast, in Kielce, Szczecin, and Jelenia Gora. In Nowy Sacz, Rzeszow, and Ustrzyki the occupation of public buildings continues. On 21 January Lodz students begin a strike with the active support of the Solidarity authorities. The students are learning now to strike. Later it will be the secondary school pupils' turn. All sectors of the population were to learn how to strike -- even secondary school youth: All this was probably a new manifestation of true democracy. [shouting from audience]

On 30 January the West German paper WESTPHALISCHE RUNDSCHAU writes: The alleged toughening of the party and government attitude can be ascribed to Solidarity. If the government yielded to the demands than it would slide down the slope until it lost its authority. This is how Poland was described in those days. THE WASHINGTON POST dotted the i and crossed the t by saying: In principle the argument concerns the length of the working day, but everybody understands that in fact this argument is for power.

Strikes do not cease at the beginning of February. Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski becomes premier. He appeals for 90 days of calm. The Solidarity National Commission [KK] calls off the day without press protest action planned for 13 February. I would like to add here that when Mr Lech Walesa says do not buy the press on some days, he is just digging up old compromised ideas. [commotion in audience]

On the 8 March Solidarity undertook a primitive antisocialist leaflet and poster action in Warsaw. In Szczecin Solidarity adopts a statement questioning the PZPR first secretary's right to speak on behalf of Poland at PZPR congresses. This is what the response to the appeal for 90 days of calm looked like. [shouts from audience]

On 12 March...[interrupted by shouts from audience] On 12 March a call appears in Radom Solidarity's bulletin: Party people should be hanged from the lamp posts. In Bydgoszcz [background noise from audience] on 12 March the sit-in at the ZSL began. The sit-in is supported by the Solidarity leadership: So the premier's appeal for 90 days of calm was already cancelled before the events in Bydgoszcz [shouts from audience], which took place on 19 March. There a provocation organized by Rulewski took place in the Voivodship People's Council Hall. [shouts from audience] At the same time the strikes -- new strikes -- begin. A 4-hour warning strike was announced for 27 March and a nationwide general strike for 30 and 31 March. That strike was avoided because Mr Walesa and I signed the so-called Warsaw Agreement.

At that time coal extraction was a matter of life and death. On 24 April he states the system of additional pay for miners for voluntary work on Saturday they have off -- a system which was introduced with the aim of not permitting a drop in coal extraction -- is a form of, and I quote: setting the miners at variance with other professional groups. They came out firmly against Saturday working in the mining industry. Now it can clearly be seen that Solidarity advisers' strategic activity is intended to deal a mortal blow to the authorities by bringing the economy to its knees. Or was it really the authorities? Or only the authorities?

On 9 May, in face of Solidarity's demands, the mobilization supplement for the miners for working on off Saturdays was discontinued. As a result, almost 1/2 as many people turned up for work. Twenty percent of the amount of coal extracted on other days of the week was dug. In a short time the protests against...[interrupted by shout from audience] Ha, because we were...[interrupted by loud cheering and applause from audience] In short time Solidarity caused us to cut coal exports, and the Americans went into our markets. That was a disaster for the whole Polish economy, which depended on [word indistinct]. There was a shortage of electricity. Factories had to be switched off, and the people's lights had to be switched off.

The specter of underheated apartments in the next (?winter) appeared. On 12 May [shouts from audience] the registration of private farmers took place. That same day 200 criminal inmates in Wronki began a protest. On 21 May there were hooligan expresses at the railway station in Opole. The crowd's hostile attitude hinders the Civic Militia's intervention. [shouts from audience] Afterwards [shouts from audience] more and more often...[interrupted by shouts from audience] Afterwards gangsters, thieves, and hooligans called on the crowd for help against the militia more and more often. Poland ceased to be a safe country. The specter of anarchy [shouts from crowd] stopped circling in people's minds. It became an actual concept. On 27 May the country was 3,200 mw short of what it needed. Power supply to industry was cut back and switchoffs were applied in towns and rural areas. Solidarity members in the power stations refused to work on Saturdays, do overtime, or carry out essential maintenance and repairs. I leave that fact without comment.

On 9 June the Polish Episcopate asked the KK not to make decisions that infringe upon the highest good of the country and threaten its achievements. This was after the death of Cardinal Wyszynski, who had already called for calm and caution and limiting demands in the Autumn of 1980. The KKP Presidium at that time began to put forward a model of the economic reform the principles of which are to transform nationally-owned property into group and self-governments' property. The model also envisages a free market -- in other words, prices were to be defined by market forces.

In mid-June Solidarity demands that party members leave the PZPR under the slogan "One Cannot Serve Two Masters at Once." What does this slogan mean? Nothing but proof that Solidarity has an open political orientation. [shouts from audience] Solidarity becomes a political movement -- against the PZPR -- acting under the banner of a trade union. After all, something else was inscribed in the Gdansk agreement: There was a solemn inscription that new independent and self-governing trade unions were to be created. [shouts from audience: Where are they now?]

Acts of vandalism and profanation of monuments of gratitude and graves of Red Army soldiers are multiplying [loud shouting from audience: Who is doing it?] This was done by teenagers brought up on Solidarity and anti-Soviet leaflets. [shouts from audience]

You know, I did not expect -- I did not expect [shouts from audience] to have such partners here! One could say that you are demonstrating -- those who are shouting so much -- how you think a conversation is to be held.

The KKP is silent on the acts of vandalism and profanation of monuments of gratitude. It is silent here in Gdansk, the city whose shipping industry is alive thanks to Soviet orders. It is silent on the Polish coast, which was returned to Poland only thanks to the heroic Soviet Army -- and returned not just as sand and water! [shouts from audience] Well, if it was not silent then it made half-hearted sounds about the security forces doing it. You are repeating yourselves: You are repeating this old rubbish, the old rumors, as if anyone in Poland -- anyone in the government -- wanted the Soviet comrades to have the worst opinion of us! [sentence as heard] [shouts from audience] Yes, yes! Only an idiot can say such things!

Of course, such half-hearted statements are not supported by any proof. No. [shouts from audience] At the same time, the port workers' Solidarity demands rapid adoption of the port workers' charter. Cargo for export is held up in ports. Negotiations to free the cargo did not bring any results.

The world reacts to this with the statements that Poland has ceased to be a credible trade partner: That the state authorities no longer have much to say. On 14 July 1981 the Ninth PZPR Congress begins. What is the Solidarity propagandists' reaction to that Congress? Posters with a skull -- posters with empty plates and the inscription: The first result of the Ninth Congress. That was at the time when the government announced that in view of the decreasing procurement of meat, it would be essential to cut the ration book allocations of meat. Solidarity immediately protested against that decision. The question arises: To what end?

On 25 July about 5,000 women made a hunger march on the initiative of Lodz Solidarity. A well-nourished lady headed the group. Solidarity -- I want to draw attention to this -- opens a new stage of struggle: [shouts from audience] Getting people out on the streets. At the beginning of August new strikes and further measures are announced. On 1 August General Jaruzelski states that Solidarity's assurances that shortened working time would be compensated for by higher labor productivity had not been fulfilled. The government warns against organizing measures that threaten to have incalculable effects.

On 3 August the occupation of the Marshalkowska roundabout in the heart of Warsaw began. The sad sight, which lasted 2 days, began. On 6 August the Solidarity leadership broke off talks with the government. At the same time hunger marches took place in Krakow, Tarnow, and Przemysl; warning strikes were held in Kielce, Piotrkow, and Opole Voivodships; and there was a 4-hour strike in Katowice Voivodship. On 12 August the KKP ended its 3 days of deliberations in Gdansk.

It was acknowledged that it was not yet time for confrontation with the authorities, and numerous voices at the session demanded such a confrontation. The view that Solidarity is equally responsible for the difficult situation in the country was rejected. The government offer of collaboration in introducing economic reform was rejected, with the statement this is not a reform in the Solidarity mold. An appeal was made to Solidarity to work eight free Saturdays to the end of the year, but on the condition that the work be organized exclusively by Solidarity and that Solidarity was to have the fruits of this work at its disposal -- that is, take over the produced goods. (?Well), there were demands that would be improbably peculiar in normal states. [Shouts from audience]

The Solidarity authorities' next anticonstitutional decision -- the next instance of their placing themselves above the law -- was made on 26 August. The KK declares that Solidarity will introduce its own economic reform model, annouce competitions for managerial posts, and bring in control of the food economy on its own, regardless of what the government or the Sejm decide. The government spokesman announces that political action such as the strike action against radio and television that Solidarity announced, which strikes aga'nst the foundations of the government's system of communications with society and the system of communications with the Warsaw Pact would be declared illegal and that the government would use all available means to prevent it.

The first Solidarity congress opened on 5 September. What were the main aspects of the congress, which was attended exclusively by representatives of right wing trade unions from the West? One could say a great deal about how those representatives of right-wing unions financed the union by sending printing materials or printing equipment. And one could ask how it was that capitalists gave Gdansk workers money for this. But one could only pose such questions, because lack of time makes it impossible to expand on them. [Shouting from audience, followed by applause]

Solidarity [shouts from audience] was seen as the sole cause of the changes that were taking place. Trade union matters were only marginally discussed in the first round of the congress. On the other hand, a number of resolutions were adopted protesting various of the authorities' activities. It was, if one studies it carefully today, a program of negation. The famous appeal to the working people of Eastern Europe was also adopted. It called for overt disobedience to the authorities and for embarking, and I quote: On the difficult path of struggle, as Solidarity had done. The appeal that the chairman of the Committee for Cooperation with Trade Unions sent to the congress was simply put aside and ignored. At this congress -- let those who attended it remember -- the government was mocked -- one no longer talked with it.

On 16 September the Politburo of my party said that the course and resolutions of the first part of the Solidarity congress represented a unilateral violation of the social agreements concluded in Gdansk, Szczecin, and Jastrzebie. They have been replaced -- I quote the Politburo's assessment -- by a program of political opposition. The appeal to the people of Eastern Europe, the Politburo says, constitutes an insane provocation against Poland's allies. The line of building an opposition political party triumphed at the Solidarity congress. This party openly set itself the goal of taking over power by means of changing the sociopolitical system in Poland.

These clear words of assessment and warning were once again ignored. Sure of its strength and incited by centers of subversion in the West, the political opposition used the trade union more and more vigorously -- but now in name only -- for its own aims, which were remote from the true interests of the working class. Today, in his statement made to the shipyard's leadership and sent to PAP, Lech Walesa says: I have never and will never gamble on confrontation, but always on reasoning and negotiations. With good will one can always reach compromise solutions. As far as this last sentence is concerned, yes, of course, he is absolutely right. [shouts from audience] The problem is, however, that the union did not display this readiness by organizing strikes and street demonstrations. If this was readiness for negotiations, then thanks a lot for this kind of negotiations. As far as confrontation is concerned, it is simply untrue: Confrontation was talked about more and more often in the Solidarity ranks.

But let us move on: It is the second half of September. Solidarity organizations in the mining industry -- Mr Czartoryski was the adviser of the Solidarity organizations in the mining industry -- decided to boycott the Council of Ministers resolution on additional incentives for work on free Saturdays. On 23 September, no doubt within the framework of democracy, at the Szczyglowice mine the local Solidarity organization carried Matenko, the chairman of the Industrial Unions, out in a wheelbarrow. On 7 October the Solidarity congress ended its deliberations. No warnings or appeals were taken into consideration.

A resolution was passed on boycotting the Sejm's self-government act and holding a self-styled national referendum on the subject. The point was to show that Solidarity is dissatisfied with the Sejm, too, does not recognize it, and stands above it. During the congress the dissolution of KSS-KOR [Social Self-Defence Committee] was announced, because, and I quote: Its role has been effectively taken over by Solidarity.

The congress passed a resolution on prices, which was a kind of ultimatum to the government. Socialism was not spoken of at the congress. That word did not even appear in the Union's program. Afterwards, one of the advisers said that its inclusion had simply been forgotten. The atmosphere in the hall was described by numerous observers as verging on anticommunist hysteria. The British press agency REUTER commented as follows: Solidarity (?has come out) of its congress in opposition to the communists ruling in Poland.

On 14 October Solidarity organized a strike at the Lubogora agricultural plant demanding the removal of the director, who had made a correct decision regarding an employee. The strike spread to the whole voivodship. Daily losses due to that strike amounted to Zl40 million. That was how the co-responsibility for the country and its fate looked. [word indistinct] Half of the voivodships were swept by a wave of strikes. Mass strikes cost the country $900,000 a day, for that is what is obtained from sulphur exports every day.

And the strike organizers then had the courage to accuse the government of worsening the situation in the country by their policy. Solidarity in the face of a lack of government agreement on the establishment of the so-called Social Council for the National Economy, which would keep check on the government and replace the Sejm, Solidarity KK decided to organize... [interrupted by shouts from audience] decided to organize a 1-hour national strike on 28 October. Out of 7 million people employed on the first shift, 2 million people took part in the strike. According to Solidarity's opinion poll research that strike got the least support of all the actions Solidarity had organized up to then.

This was a clear sign that society had had enough of strike anarchy. [shouts] On 30 October, the Committee for Trade Union Affairs sent a telex message to Lech Walesa, informing him about the strike situation in the country on 29 October. Only strikes of a continuous nature were counted. Five key plants in Zyrardow, and almost all plants in Zielona Gora Voivodship were on strike; the situation was similar in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship. There were strikes at the Urban Transport Enterprise in Przemsyl and in Jaroslaw, and also at a factory in Szczecin; at the Sosnowiec colliery in Katowice Voivodship; and at the railway carriage plants in Rybnik; the engineering college in Radom, and the University of Warsaw. [shouts] This information did not evoke any response from Solidarity. To conclude the matter of strikes: From 5 to 26 November, that is, in the course of 21 days, 105 open-ended strikes were proclaimed in Poland; strike-readiness was announced 196 times and strikes were proclaimed 105 times. Moreover, there were 50 disturbances of various kinds. In November there were on average, throughout the entire country, more than 20 various actions daily. I ask you: Do these shocking data indicate cooperation or collaboration as partners? No.

This was a path of confrontation. Confrontation, after all, is not just coming out into the streets and fighting with the militia -- although it looked like that at times. [shouting in the hall] Fighting groups were formed at that time. [shouts: "Who formed them?"] Who formed them? [more shouts] I will read to you the resolution of the Mazowsze Region in a moment. [shouting in the hall] Were the strikes spontaneous? Look, I have not drunk bruderschaft [a drink after which people can address each other in an informal manner] with you, so please don't use this form of address to me. [shouting in the hall] I ask the question: Were the strikes spontaneous? Perhaps some were, but most were not. I remember the statement by Lech Walesa: Some are traveling throughout Poland organizing strikes, others follow and stamp the strikes out.

Coincidentally, or perhaps not coincidentally, I received a letter last year from one of Solidarity's activists from Nowy Sacz. I do not know why but he decided to be honest. [shouts from the hall: "Is he still alive?"] Yes, he is still alive. He decided to describe his activity for a group which traveled throughout Poland organizing strikes. [shouts from the hall] If those who are shouting wish to read this letter than I can give it to them! [shouts drown out Rakowski] He is writing in detail about every factory, how each strike was staged. [commotion, more shouting] It is also true that Mr Walesa in some cases put the strikes out, but show me a document still remaining that says the leadership of Solidarity publicly called to stop any strike or disassociated itself from any strike. And every strike was organized under the auspices of Solidarity.

On 31 October the press published a report that the chairman of the Szvzecin Solidarity, Marian Jurczyk, at a meeting in Trzebiatow called the Sejm deputies and the government traitors and called for erecting gallows and for creating detention camps for communists. The prosecutor's office began an investigation. On 4 November a meeting of Jaruzelski, Glemp and Walesa was held in Warsaw on establishing a council of national accord. We did not know that Solidarity would not be a party to the accord which was to be initiated at this meeting. A 2-day session of the KK ended in Gdansk. Resolutions passed there were dominated by a mainstream of confrontation. It was decided that if the government does not implement economic solutions proposed by Solidarity, then a general strike will be organized. [sentence indistinct] There were shouts: Why didn't Jaruzelski come to us? He should have come here rather than Lech go to Warsaw. Well, Jaruzelski came but a few weeks later. [shouting in the hall] On 16 November the Council of Ministers stated that the call for social peace continues to be ignored. Excesses of political character are being provided. Distribution of leaflets gives proof of strengthening of tendencies which are hostile to the idea of national accord.

By KK decision a national action of pressure on the official mass media was undertaken, aiming at the uncontrolled use of radio and television by Solidarity. Special teams directed from various regions and made up mostly of students and secondary school pupils have been used to paint on walls and buildings antistate and provocative slogans. Ancient buildings were not spared.

All interventions by administrative authorities were of course described as attacks on the union. In Lublin, Solidarity called for a strike by secondary school pupils. This was one of the, one should say, disgraceful steps undertaken by the region. On 20 November Lech Walesa, changing his attitude, stated that if Solidarity agreed to join the front of national accord it would be one of many social forces there, and Solidarity must be a leading force.

On 24 November factory commissions of Solidarity at Ponar-Zywiec, Dolmel and a few other Wroclaw enterprised took action to remove PZPR committees from the factories.

At the Higher School for Fire Fighter Officers in Warsaw, subordinated to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, a sit-in strike was announced. It was led by Seweryn Jaworksi, representing the Maxowsze Region of which he was deputy chairman. He came from outside and had earlier led the strike in Zyrardow. Solidarity also gave it support and maintains the postulate to control state warehouses and reserves.

In the meantime, the government announces that the Sejm will be presented with the Bill on Special Powers for the Government in connection with the country's worsening economic and political situation. Solidarity says its reply will be to threaten a general strike.

On 3 December in Radom a session of the KK Presidium and chairmen of the regions is held. Asked about national accord, Lech Walesa replied: The decision is no -- there is no agreement because there is no one to agree with. But now Mr Walesa says dialogue is necessary and agreement has to be reached. Now he sees us as partners! [indignant shouts] I wish to say it is too late. There has been too much evidence of bad faith. [more shouts] There has been too much bad faith. [more shouting]

Solidarity's Radom stance constituted a clear ultimatum to the authorities. The resolution accused the authorities of having chosen a path of violence, of having discared dialogue with the population after the authorities had put forward the idea of national accord, of having attempted to liquidate civil rights, and this after a period when Solidarity persistently continued to break the law itself.

The resolution also says that Solidarity will join in the national accord if the authorities accede to its demands, that is to say if the authorities do set up this Social Council on the Economy to be set up, the taking control over production and distribution of foodstuffs, a speedy organization of elections to representative organs according to the ideas worked out by Solidarity. These demands meant that Solidarity would join in the agreement if the government, in practice, relinquishes its power. Was this a negotiating stance? [more shouts] Was this a stance for.... [interrupts himself amid shouts] I, too, know a bit about society and I do not think that this person who is just now shouting his head off represents the whole society.

Was this a negotiating stance or a confrontation stance? Moreover, I would like to say that all these facts I am quoting here I have taken from official documents of Solidarity -- there is nothing here from unofficial documents, all this can be read, only read it must be so that you know the truth because one willingly forgets what the year 1981 signified; one confines oneself to shouting.

"We support the Radom decisions," proclaimed numerous telex messages, organized en masse by the activists of the antisocialist opposition in the regions, in major enterprises and institutions. The goal was obvious: to create an atmosphere of support for the confrontation activities of Solidarity's extremist element.

On 5 December, radio and television carried excerpts of recordings made during the Radom proceedings by chairmen of regions, to be disseminated locally. I wish to remind you of what several people had to say in Radom.

Lech Walesa: Confrontation is unavoidable and confrontation will take place.

Kuron: The issue of the elections and the new electoral rules; the total negation of the so-called government's Provisional Arrangement [prowizorium rzadowe] and the state of emergency -- in the sense that this state ought to be negated -- should furnish the arena for confrontation.

Rulewski: The authorities must be allowed to embark on various topics, we must get parishes and towns heatedly discussing things; we must set peasants against officials; let them take over parish offices.

Frasyniuk: It is necessary to build and develop the union appartus which in future will occupy positions within the administration.

Bujak: It is essential to set up the Social Council on the National Economy forthwith. It will be something along the lines of a provisional national government.

Karol Modzelewski: It will be their last battle [allusion to the Internationale].

This is the point that was reached by Solidarity's extreme elements. They have gone mad, sensing power. Those who still support these elements today either fail to understand anything, or else they are blind, or else they are totally lost. [more shouts]

On 6 December a meeting of Mazowsze Region ended. A resolution proclaiming 17 December a day of protest was adopted. Simply, it was planned to get out into the streets. Also, in the resolution, it was decided to form special fighting groups to protect all actions undertaken by Solidarity. They called them workers' guards and armed them with batons and crash helmets. Similar decisions were taken in Wroclaw and Katowice. Seventeen December was to be a beginning of street riots and it was announced that Solidarity will support them with a general strike if authorities oppose these street demonstrations. What was the state of strikes as of 8 December?

Sit-in strike in the youth organization building in Siedlce, sit-in strike in the WZKOR building in Swidnica, strike at the Torun sugar processing plant, strike at Pomorze varnishing plant in Grudziadz, sit-in strike in the WZKOR building in Wloclawek, sit-in strike in the United Peasant Party building in Zamosc, sit-in in Jaslo, strike at agricultural circles in Pasyn in Olsztyn Voivodship, strike in the post office in Olsztyn in Zielona Gora Voivodship, sit-in strike at the parish office in (Brzosk) in Tarnow Voivodship, strike at a compressor section of (?Peda) Works in Poniatowa, sit-in strike at agricultural circles building in Lublin, sit-in in Czarnostaw in Ciechanow Voivodship, a sit-in strike by employees of motor transport in (?Plonsk), a strike in the yeast plant in Szczecin, a sit-in strike in the building of the agricultural cooperative combinat in Ciechociny in Czestochowa Voivodship. Besides this, ... [shouting] besides this, strike-readiness was maintained in several hundred plants in 31 voivodships. Strikes were proclaimed in 37 larger plants throughout the country. In 14 academic centers, in 50 universities, there were student strikes.

On 9 December, the Workers Council of Ponar-Zywiec plant, taken over by Solidarity, took a decision to [word indistinct] the party committee of the plant. [shouts] Individual Solidarity cells threatened a general strike. On 11 December, Friday, despite numerous appeals for moderation, the Mazowsze Region prepared itself intensively for 17 December -- a demonstration rally in Warsaw. Similar events were announced in other larger towns as a show of force and protest against the authorities. The chairman of the Legnica Region of Solidarity cast doubt on the necessity for Soviet forces to be in Poland. At the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, a 2-day session of the KK of Solidarity began, devoted to approval of the confrontationist Radom stand. (?Threats were made) in the debating hall; blustering, irresponsible calls for confrontation were proclaimed, for a final takeover of power. The leading activists of the antisocialist opposition came out in favor of hard solutions. The dispute continues only as regards tactics and dates. A strike already now or next week? A general, or a so-called active strike? Should Solidarity hold elections in a month's time or in 6 weeks?

On 12 December, Saturday, contrary to the national interests, the KK of NSZZ Solidarity rejected finally the platform of national agreement.

In the course of the debate there emerged an escalation of accusations addressed to the Polish People's Republic's authorities and system. Though some experts, and note must be made of this, have been warning the KK members against a policy of confrontation, arguing that the authorities are by no means as weak as the extremist activists attempt to portray, the majority turned a deaf ear to these voices of reason.

The final KK resolution is based on the Radom stand, thus constituting an ultimatum to the authorities and society. It has been stated that the passing of a trade union bill in a version departing in any way from the Solidarity stance and the granting of special powers to the government would lead to a general strike. Another resolution appointed a commissar for a referendum on the system of governing. An adopted statement subjected to total criticism the functioning of the state. The KK, the highest body in NSZZ Solidarity between congresses, has thus placed itself above the Constitution and the law. It has unequivocally put its stake on confrontation. The debate ended about midnight and the activists were instructed to put it into effect at once.

On 13 December, in front of Polish radio microphones, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski made a statement about establishing the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] and the imposition of martial law throughout the Polish People's Republic by virtue of a decision adopted by the Council of Ministers. The era of anarchy came to an end. [shouting in the hall]

An end was put to a situation which has led the Polish nation and the Polish state to an abyss. The dreams and hopes of the counterrevolutionaries have not been fulfilled. Yes this must be said. [more shouts] After what I have quoted no other words can be used. [shouts] Martial law was introduced so that Poland could be Poland. [loud and long shouts] Someone could accuse me of an arbitrary selection of facts. No. What I have listed is just one-hundredth or even less of the facts which took place at that time, devastating facts.

Then, after December 1981, I repeat, the accusation was made many times that it was we, the authorities, who destroyed Solidarity — a beautiful idea, a beautiful [word indistinct] movement. That is not true. I want this to be heard by everyone, those who to date have been sighing for the sort of Solidarity that used to exist. Solidarity was destroyed by extremists, by people who for various reasons became open enemies of socialism. Solidarity has destroyed itself with its own hands. In this self-destruction, it has to be said, a part was played too by those inside Solidarity who passively looked on at the desperate activity of the extremists and who did not oppose them. The extremists lost their sense of reality; they treated with contempt all those who did not want to stand on their side and, unfortunately, they regarded with utter hatred those sons of workers and peasants who, thanks to people's Poland, became part of the intelligentsia and also became members of the PZPR, and members of the state and economic authorities at various levels. I accuse the extremists and those who supported them of destroying a movement that could have played a positive role in the history of Polish socialism.

The opposition has for a long time been launching the thesis that from the moment Solidarity was created the authorities intended to destroy it. This is a nonsensical accusation which is not based on any facts. Martial law -- which led to the suspension of all trade unions and caused the isolation of several thousand of the most aggressive Solidarity activists -- could have been, objectively speaking, introduced much earlier. For example, it could have been introduced after the first part of the Solidarity congress, when it was already obvious in which unambiguous direction the leadership of that organization was heading. It could have been introduced earlier too, for instance in March, when the general strike was announced. [shout from hall]

Finally, force could also have been applied in September or November 1980 when there was the dispute over registration. That was not done for the simple reason that there existed the profound conviction that Solidarity would be a constructive movement and that the deviations manifesting themselves were transitional. It was due to this and no other assumption that the successive concessions were made during 1981 to many demands, which has an unfavorable result on the economy. I do not deny that at some time historians will accuse us of excessive compliance in a situation where the Polish economy was collapsing. It must be recognized as our weakness that we failed to appreciate the strength of the opponent, his ability to infiltrate the ranks of the working people. But it is also a fact that we have always counted on the wisdom and maturity of the working class. And I believe that all in all we have not been disappointed.

And now a few words about what happened to Solidarity after 13 December. After 13 December, or more precisely on 13 December, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, announcing the introduction of martial law, expressed hope that the workers in Solidarity, through their own efforts and in their own interests, would disassociate themselves from the prophets of confrontation and counterrevolution. Did that in fact happen? No, it did not. Nevertheless, there remained some hope even after 13 December to search for and find some ways to solve the conflict along the road of agreement with the healthy forces in Solidarity.

I will recall that just after the introduction of martial law I went to Mr Walesa, whom we did not treat as an internee in the first days -- at any rate, he was living in conditions that were not so bad, in Otwock Palace, then in Arlamow. Well, Mr Walesa did not want to talk to me at all. On 22 February, continuing the attempt to reach those forces in Solidarity which I have termed healthy, the Committee for Trade Union Affairs announced a platform for discussion on the role and sphere of trade unions in the socialist system. I suggest you look at that document. What was the reply from Solidarity leaders? A boycott of the discussions, followed by an open phase of underground activity, and finally street demonstrations. Reactions of this kind were another step along the road which has led to self-destruction and the negation of its role in the life of the nation. It was not possible to negotiate with people -- I am stressing this clearly -- who organize street demonstrations because the authorities are responsible for the security of the Polish state and the secure life of society. Therefore, only after it transpired that the forces of agreement within Solidarity are too weak to renew that organization did the Sejm adopt the Act on Trade Unions in October.

New unions were created in accordance with the entry contained in the Gdansk agreement. Today there is no room in the political life of the country for negotiations with activists of a dissolved union. The Sejm act has dissolved all unions. New trade unions, but not a political party, are in existence. We are convinced that sooner or later these will become mass unions; that members of dissolved Solidarity will also find their place within them. Anyway, already today the majority of the new unionists are former Solidarity members. The important and significant role of the new union movement will grow. The authorities of the new unions are elected democratically and independently. Their programs of activity are adopted in the most democratic manner in the world. The new unions represent the will of their members.

We are here on the eve of the third anniversary of the signing of the agreements. They came into being in a difficult, tense climate; the discussions were stormy, but they were discussions, talks. We are celebrating this anniversary today, and we will celebrate it by continuing the dialogue with the working class, and by implementing the program of the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress. This program was developed from the experiences that the party accumulated in August and from August onward. It is a program which has developed out of the justified aspirations of the working class, manifested at that time in the workers' protest in July and August 1980. We will implement this program and nobody will divert us from this path.

What kind of celebration of the third anniversary of the signing of the agreement is being suggested to us by the Solidarity underground, by some secret commission, or by, finally Mr Lech Walesa? A boycott of city transport. Well, if people listen to this, then the municipal coffers will get a little less cash. This is not a menacing phenomenon; after all, a walk in such splendid weather will do everyone good, you included. But from the political point of view the proposal of a boycott of the means of transport may, however, serve only those who are interested in having Poland described throughout the world as still a country of unrest, for I am sure that this helps the prestige of Poland abroad.

But there is also another proposal as well, the so-called snail's work-pace, and this is already something quite different from a walk around town. In his statement distributed around the shipyard here Mr Lech Walesa says that the idea of a snail's work-pace did not come from his mouth. In an interview for AFP he said: This was not my initiative, but I agree with these decisions. I have only supported them. So, as a result we already have one snail in the hall. [laughter followed by applause]

What does adopting a snail's-pace work mean in practice? What does the call for such action mean? Well, it definitely means punishing somebody. But who? The government? Certainly, yes; but only when we recognize that the government is the same kind of part of the Polish nation as those who are sitting in this hall. [unintelligible shouts from the hall] The proposal of a slowdown is nothing other than a desire to punish all Poles; perhaps for not wanting to go to the barricades? Perhaps for not wanting so badly for Poland to get out of the crisis as quickly as possible? That appeal is a pitiful move. To call for a slowdown in such a profound crisis results from a sense of having lost, of having been defeated. It is not only a moral defeat but an actual defeat, because since yesterday the bourgeois press has been snivelling and wailing that nothing has come of that appeal. [shouts of protest from the hall] Of the 40 workers questioned, not by our journalists but by Western journalists [shouts from the hall] -- you can listen to it, (?if) Radio Free Europe says it -- 4 said that they were indeed working more slowly, but maybe they work slower by nature. There are still a great many like that in Poland. For the stance expressed by millions of working Poles who do not intend to work at a snail's pace toward increasing Poland's standing in the world, toward material improvement, I thank them all warmly, not only on behalf of the government but on behalf of the millions of my fellow countrymen throughout Poland; on behalf of millions of citizens toiling, busy and often painfully feeling the effects of the crisis.

I have presented you not only my own point of view today, but that of the government of which I am a member. I can assume [shouts from the hall] and I have assumed that what I have said is not to everybody's liking, but I think that the times are not such that one has to beat about the bush about what is close to my heart and to my comrades' heart: to my comrades, to me, and to millions of Poles. There was a good deal of history in what I said. Why? Well, because in order to understand today's problems, one has to recall the future [as heard], because there are many attached to it, but at the same time, the human memory is fallible; it forgets quickly and, particularly, it blots out what was not right, not good, not favorable; well, with this remark I will end. [applause]

Response To Walesa Statement

LD920019 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1800 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Speech given by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski following Lech Walesa's remarks at Rakowski's meeting with workers at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk on 25 August -- recorded]

[Text] The question is: Why was Solidarity dissolved? In a brief statement, I tried to present the reasons and, to put it briefly, Solidarity was dissolved because it was my deepest conviction that there existed no chance whatever to rescue the union. The history of nations knows of extraordinarily complex and tumultuous situations from which there does not exist an ideal way out. I admit that at the time I thought that following this period of great chaos, of great upheavals in Poland, it was the most rational way out to simply, as it were, level the ground -- because we did not just have Solidarity, but also branch and autonomous unions -- to being the construction of something new.

There were shouts and some kind of comment here when I said that new unions were coming into being. Someone shouted that we are financing these unions, and that is not true. There are troubles there. After all, I want to tell you that we, too, have trouble with these unions -- that is to say they are constantly attacking us. [shouts of derision from the hall]

[Rakowski, shouting] There is nothing to laugh about! What is at stake is precisely such trade unions which will [very briefly interrupted by merriment from the hall] control us, that is to say control the administration [more shouts] and will stay vigilant so that workers' interests are not violated.

Well, this depends on what you understand workers' interests to be and what they were understood to be, for example, during the period of 1981. But when I said that the majority of people, those members of new unions, are members of the former Solidarity, it caused laughter. This was brushed aside with ironic remarks. But why? What do you think, that those who did join are some kind of paid agents of ours, some kind of (?guards)? [a few shouts of indignation]

Well, I will tell you who from Solidarity joins the new unions. The silent middle sector from Solidarity does the joining. Those people from 1981 who did not heed extreme elements, who were put upon by these extreme elements, do the joining. But, after all, you, who shout your heads off, you know very well what it looked like, what moral terror was applied against people -- are you going to tell me you know nothing about it? (more indignant shouts] You do not know? Well, this proportion of people from Solidarity join the new unions. I am talking of people who took the middle road, who did not wish to support extremes and consequently had no chance at all.

And, yes, the extreme elements were there. Let me recall that a year after he had been created a national hero Mr Walesa got only 55 percent of the vote at the congress. Why was it that he only got 55 percent? [angry shouts from the hall]

If it were not for the mobilization of three regions, Walesa would be all but finished. The development of the political situation in Poland in 1982, the behavior of the Solidarity underground and of the entire political opposition that banked on Solidarity, the clear support for Solidarity -- and here, I once again make the reservation that when I say Solidarity I abbreviate to simplify the whole problem, since what I mainly have in mind are the leading teams -- the clear support for Solidarity on the part of the most reactionary centers in the West; all these elements, apart from those I have already mentioned, gave rise to the necessity of a solution like that reached by the Sejm in October, passing an act in which it formulated that there will not be, that is to say starting from scratch, i.e. dissolving all trade unions. [as heard]

And I would also like to say to you, openly, so that there are no misunderstandings, that there is no return to Solidarity. There is no return to Solidarity. None at all. What are the differences between martial law and the present state of affairs? I do not understand the question, really. Perhaps you mean that in the recent days the presence of militia was more prominent. Is this what you meant? [voices from the hall: yes!] I would like to state here that the government of People's Poland will not give up the policy whose aim is to fully guarantee the sense of security in Poland. I want to emphasize again that millions of people in Poland [voice from the hall: those who have been intimidated!] -- no, not those who have been intimidated. [many voices shouting: yes!] No, you give the impression of being intimidated, you [noise of many voices] yes, terribly scared people.

When will our laws be formulated in a clear way? I am not sure if I know what is meant by that question, but, quite honestly, perfect law does not exist, speaking generally. Law will always have loopholes, formulas which are not understood by everybody. I cannot promise here that every law in Poland will be drafted in such a way that it would be so clear that a glance would be enough to grasp its meaning. I would like here to comment upon Mr Walesa's statement. At last I can talk to him as a doctor to a doctor.

As for Mr Walesa's statement, for it was a statement in its essence, I remember a talk in the summer of 1981 in my study when I said: "You are the chairman" -- as he then was, after all -- "look what is going on in Poland. Look, and take notice of the fact that obstacles of various kinds are mounting up". You know what you said then, don't you? You said: "Oh, no, Mr Premier, I don't see Poland in such black colors." And that was it. [voices from the hall: He was right!] Yes, of course, he was right, he is always right, in your opinion. [voices heard briefly] Yes, he was right then, was he? In the middle of 1981, when anybody could see that everything was going in a direction that was not beneficial for Poland. [voice from the hall: And now?] And now? Well, please yourselves, compare the shops [interruption from indistinct voices] -- yes, please compare the empty shops of autumn 1981 and the ones at present. We appealed for that reason, Mr Walesa, to you, and to your colleagues, during all these months. However, unfortunately no answer was forthcoming. You always used to dismiss these appeals by saying that something or other was not the case, or that it wasn't that bad, or, as I have quoted, that we shall move forward, and so we went forward, so much so that we found ourselves in a catastrophic situation. [voices, indistinct] This is the first remark. And as for the reason, I do not believe you have shown it. Yes, you know you get indignant here about certain things which have been said about you. Well, I understand that you get angry, but this is a subjective anger, I know that in that statement whose excerpts I quoted you voiced your opinions on the subject of sanctions.

I would not say that it was a statement that testified to good sense. No. And yesterday I received a telex from Washington where Senator Dodd, who spent 4 hours with you, appeared on television in a program called "Meet the Press." He is questioned by two journalists, and one of them says: Mister Dodd, what did Walesa say to you about economic sanctions? In reply, Dodd, a Senator, says: "If the United States or its Western allies were to lift them now — so says Mister Walesa -- it would have been sending an inappropriate political message". So, it is simply a statement: Let the West keep restrictions against Poland. Find an answer to this in your conscience, not here in the hall heated by this passion, your passion: Is this a manifestation of reason? I will say more: Here we enter an extremely complicated sphere of moral responsibility, not to mention a political one. But how it could be? In our present situation, when we cannot get part of industry going because of restrictions, Mister Walesa says that now would be unfavorable. I tell you what's behind it. It was also said in a further part of the program that simply Mister Walesa thinks that these restrictions should serve as a means of pressure in the hands of America to force the Polish Government to sit at a negotiating table. He also said that one has to sit at the table. And in a DPA interview on 18 August he said that the government is afraid of these talks, and that is why it refuses to sit at the table. What can one say to that? I say openly: There will be no sitting at the table, because there is no one with whom to sit. [Noise in the background] We wanted, with a good will, full of goodwill, to sit at the common table in 1981. For those who shout their heads off it obviously does not matter that I myself, for example, then promoted a model of partnership -- there was no one shouting his head off then -- it is all written, I was promoting. Then we were simply refused those common discussions, or joint solving of real problems. There was nothing more unpleasant for me than meeting with the governing bodies of Solidarity in 1981.

Only demands were presented there; only demands. They would demand, put up on the wall. And, besides, in Solidarity, among the activists, a view was common: Let's demand as much as possible, let's demand! What did they demand? They demanded impossible things. How could we now talk and treat somebody as a partner who gave such proof of their treachery and their false perception of partnership? However, they say: We haven't built a second Japan; we haven't built a second Poland. Okay, it is true that it has not been built. But I have already touched on this in my speech.

There were numerous voices, and that was repeated like a refrain, that the period of People's Poland as a whole should be written off, these shipyards built on the Polish coast by all of us [indistinct voices] yes, I said by all of us. And the whole decade was attacked with particular frenzy. I do not try to say, of course, that great mistakes have not been committed. However, during that decade more than 2,000,000 young Poles were offered jobs. That means that hundreds of factories were built. During that decade industry was modernized. All right, it went too far as far as finances were concerned; conceit was shown to a large extent -- I am thinking here about Gierek and his entourage.

Only be honest, take a good look at your own life. The starting point is in 1971. For God's sake take a look. After all, it is not as if he had failed to create anything here. So of course, it depends on what one means when one says second Poland. It was a slogan for the future, a propaganda slogan, but I am far from simply negating the achievements of a decade and I will simply spring to the defense of his thesis by any means. Yes.

Housing? Likewise, there was progress in the seventies regarding housing. At that time there was a miscalculation in this area as well. It was simply thought that it was possible to build in Poland on the basis of foreign credits and that the factories that would be built will pay by their output. Unfortunately what was not taken into consideration is the fact that frequently the quality of these goods is terribly poor and, I would say, that this does not really depend very much on the government.

The second thing not taken into consideration is the fact that the great crisis in the West, caused by the rise in oil prices, would lead to the entire world economic situatio collapsing. At that time, in the middle of the seventies, it was necessary to run away from this grand investments program and simply to curtail the consumption needs, the consumption appetites. You don't have to tell me: Cross my heart, it was a terrible decade.

It was not like this, was it. And as for the groups of pickets Mr Walesa, after all this is, so to speak, written down, it is the resolution of the Mozowsze Region to the effect that these workers protection groups, or whatever name they were given, are being set up and equipped with helmets and truncheons. It did, after all, take place. Anyway I list these facts because (?as I have said) one does not want to listen honestly to certain matters.

Everything I have said here is in the documents of Solidarity.

I have not made anything up. I have not even commented on individual events. I commented here and there. Otherwise I simply quoted to you. Go and read it. This is how it was. So how can one suddenly say that there were no pickets? I would say more -- they existed at the time. [indistinct voices from the audience] It does not matter how many there were. What matters is the direction in which Solidarity, unfortunately, was moving. Don't you understand this? Don't you really understand anything of life? [shouts] What state, what government could tolerate something like this? Mr Walesa said here tht he proposed a joint statute for the advisers. Would it not look good if we suggested at the time that a joint statute we worked out for the advisers? On the next day there would have been such hullaballo -- what, the government is interfering with the independent self-governing trade unions! This is what used to happen. We suggested on so many occasions to Mr Walesa, for example, that he dissociate himself from certain matters. The reply always was that yes, he would do it, but he did not do it. Well, there was no justification, Lech, for you to join in on the joint elaboration of the statute for the advisers. On the other hand we asked [words indistinct] advisers. But I have lost track of one thing I was talking about.

In spring 1980, when the country began to be flooded with pamphlets full of anti-Soviet overtones, I said to Mr Walesa: Mr Chairman, put a stop to it because it is simply detrimental to us, as a Polish state, as a nation. Of course, we shall do this if we get this weekly [publication] because you do not want to give us the weekly. Mr Walesa knows that I became personally involved so that the weekly SOLIDARITY be established as soon as possible. And it was established. And what? Nothing changed. They still talked nonsense in those pamphlets, although Mr Walesa promised me that as soon as it appeared -- again a few fairly clumsy phrases -- he would put a stop to something or hurry something up. I cannot remember now how he expressed himself. I am talking about these issues because I understand that Mr Walesa's role today is very difficult. On the one hand, the West sings praises to him and spoils him everyday and says: Walesa smiled, Walesa [word indistinct], made a sign with his fingers, Walesa this, Walesa that. I think that it is difficult for him to adapt himself to the situation in which he finds himself at the moment. I cannot do anything about this, of course. However, I would like to tell you this: I know that in 1981 you behaved in various ways in various situations. This is true. There were also on your part manifestations of an understanding of the situation, as it were. But, either you did not have enough strength to oppose the extremists, or you were simply carried away on the wave and somewhere, deep down in your heart, you felt that someone was manipulating you. Meanwhile, I do not know whether you know this, those advisers, of whom you once said that you needed 5 minutes to arrive at some truth and they, those learned men, need 5 days to feel happy -- but perhaps this was responsible for the fact that they were far from complimentary behind your back. [sentence as heard] But this is the past.

I think that from the point of view of the interests of the country, also of the shipyard and the working class, you should not act the way you do, you should not voice the views you do because life is essentially brutal. Each one of us has, of course, his own point of view on many issues, but life will simply force you, or, after a time, make sure that the Western press lose interest in you. It is losing interest in you already now, and you will be left alone, feeling lonely and, OK, OK, I would say, empty inside.

I do not advise you to take this path. But, I am sorry, it's your business entirely. Now, as far as what you say is concerned, that the aim of our meeting is not clear, I disagree. It is very clear. I do not understand why so many people from Solidarity at one time had this marvellous capacity for twisting things. I said at the outset that I was coming because of this and that. Nothing else. I think I speak Polish and quite clearly at that so why should one suddenly put forward the thesis that the aim of our meeting is not clear. Now, you say that Solidarity was not a loved child. You know, I have known this tune for a long time. There is no doubt, I shall reiterate it once again, that we thought, I thought so, too, and probably many other Poles, many people in power -- that the emergence of an independent, self-governing trade union, the name is of no consequence at the moment, represented the opening of some new, interesting stage in the life of Poles and in the development of our system. This union assumed the name Solidarity. And so when it emerged we saw it as a permanent element of reality, that things would stay like this. There was no question then of loving or not loving, simply one of recognizing reality, the facts. However, as the union was sinking, drifing in the direction I have mentioned, no one, of course, could demand from me, for example, to love this child. If I come to see you in a year's time, I will bring you a pile of critical comments not on whether Solidarity made mistakes. The party publicly subjected its mistakes to criticism. It replaced the majority of its personnel. [Shouts in the background] One moment, 90 percent of secretaries at various levels [words indistinct] and has new people democratically elected. This party has carried out a criticism greater than any other party had done.

We do not have a reason to lay ourselves bare again here in front of you, especially in front of the demagogues, the loudmouths. We shall find enough Poles who will support this direction and are supporting it [shouts in the background] and without you, without those demagogues, without those loudmouths, we shall build better socialism in Poland. You will see this. Tanks were mentioned several times here. But where would we all be and what price would we have paid if, for instance -- and this was impending, irrespective of the will of the people -- if on 17 December, during the demonstrations -- and remember what the situation was like in November, December 1981, the atmosphere was red-hot -- if then several people took a pistol from a militiaman and another one began shooting. One had to take into account the possibility of a deep conflict. Every sensible man from Poland who analyzes this situation reaches the same conclusion. And if Poland was awash with blood, would you be pleased? Martial law, which was also accompanied by tanks in the streets, martial law in which force was needed, which means the imposition of force, was essential in order that Poland could be saved from a greater disaster. It had to be done, even in your interest, even more so in the interest of your families. It only seems to you that one can go through life, through such conflicts, and not lose anything.

There would have been hundreds of thousands of dead bodies throughout Poland, because the Poles enjoy fighting, don't they? This is our tradition. There would have been many more monuments after this and a new chief of war veterans -- maybe General Lis or General Gwiazda. And so what? New victims. More graves. Yes, I shall be the first one to say here that I am not ashamed of anything, I am not hiding anything from you. It was bad that several people died, it was bad, a tragedy.

But listen, it was a price, the price we paid to shield the country from a much more terrible tragedy. This, unfortunately, was another thing Mr Walesa did not wish to take into consideration. This unfortunate session in Radom where there was so much confrontation; now he says he never supported confrontation. What kind of talk is this, anyway? Confrontation is not just a question of what I said, that people will lay into one another on the streets, although it would have to result in this. Confrontation was the name of the policy pursued by the leadership of Solidarity; there you had confrontation. You will say, or you'll immediately start shouting -- you already done some shouting -- that we admit our mistakes. I have said that we made mistakes. But as for Solidarity, we tried right up to the last moment to get agreement. After all, the Jaruzelski-Glemp-Walesa meeting on 4 November -- for us it was [word indistinct], a kind of bridgehead of hope; we really did count on people coming to their senses. After all, can anyone suspect that one introduces force with a light heart? In 1977, after Radom, I was in Germany. I talked to Chancellor Schmidt, who was full of admiration for Gierek. This was after 1976, and Schmidt asked me: Mr Rakowski, what happened in Poland in Radom and Ursus and with the price rises? I said: Mr Chancellor, do you know the word conceit? The chancellor patted me on the knee and said: Mr Rakowski, I know this illness. Gierek was lost because of conceit. Conceit was also the thing that finished off Solidarity's leaders. This arrogance came from conceit. Yes, this is unfortunate, but it is a human trait. Many leading bodies, many leaders collapsed through conceit. Maybe you would disagree with me? Maybe you would say that you did not have such high spirits, a mood that you would do everything, that no obstacles exist in our path, that we are going forward? Yes, this feeling was there. You thought you were the very center, the very center of not just Poland, but of the world. Hence this unfortunate message to the peoples of Eastern Europe. This is this Poland which, at long last, after many many years of being under a yoke, has had peace for 37 years and is at long last beginning to break the ice and the prejudices which existed among nations in this part of Europe and, well, what does it do?

On the one hand, in an expansively noble gesture, it goes on strike, its trousers are full of holes, it does not even have anything to (?steer) with and it appeals for liberation for other nations. Well, I never -- is this a patriotic attitude? Is this political wisdom? What kind of wisdom can one speak of here at all? Where did all this come from? From conceit, from conceit. That is why Solidarity's leadership bears historical responsibility for the fact that Solidarity disappeared from Poland's political map.

No one will relieve them of this. And you will see, when you are elderly, retired, you will read this in books, books not written by my generation [shouts] but by the next generation, that it was precisely this which brought Solidarity to ruin. I know, of course, that you will leave this hall -- I am still polemicizing with those hecklers -- you will leave unconvinced, no doubt. However, thinking of your life I would like you to think also that there are people around you who are also right, who also have some arguments. Why should only you be right? Perhaps I am right. [shouts] Stop and think about this. Socialism, yes; distortions, no. This is it, Lech. It was under this slogan that workers went on strike. Later this slogan changed and it was you who changed it. It was not a question of the wrong kind of socialism, but one of socialism according to my idea. My, that means that of Kuron, Michnik and even my Walesa. Why? Perhaps this should have been verified, tested, after all. What is the point here? It was simple: Extremely rightwing trends took root in the Solidarity ranks. Individuals with long experience became active there and began influencing your imagination, the imagination of many of you. And you accuse me of being out of touch with the working class. I, who am, firstly, the son of a peasant, and who, secondly, worked in the Cegielski factory?

You should have asked those advisers what their ties with the working class are, all those professors who surrounded you, what sort of game they were playing and what was at stake. Happiness for you? Forget about it. They played for themselves. They saw themselves in the future team. But one should scratch the surface and see their political background. They represented the majority of the Polish right, the classic Polish right which repressed Polish workers before the war and sentenced hundreds of thousands of people to unemployment. You do not take this into account because you feel you are the managers of this shipyard, of this country, and you express your sense of management with shouts and whistling. This is to be the new generation, the new bright future for Poland. [shouts] This party guaranteed the Odra-Nysa frontier. Only thanks to the Polish-Soviet alliance, only thanks to the fact that the communist party, Polish communists, took the lead. Have we such frontiers. You have 500 km of coast here. [passage indistinct] No whistling, no shouts are needed, this is demagogic. Work, honest work, and thought is what we need.

Mr Walesa says one can always find compromise solutions. Yes, this is true. All the time, nonstop, day after day, throughout 1981, we almost became speechless because of all the suggestions about compromise solutions. We said all the time: compromise solutions. What is more, I am also responsible for the fact that we made concessions too frequently. In some cases we should have banged our fist on the table and said: We shall not yield an inch; but we did. We were ready for a compromise all the time. And what sort of policy was that? It was a policy of compromise, which at times, unfortunately, went too far. So to talk about compromise today, when this historical chance was missed -- there is nothing that can be done about it now.

In conclusion, I would firstly like to thank everyone for their presence, to thank them for the articulated and not so articulated slogans and shouts. I have benefited greatly from this. I leave you enriched, [laughter] greatly enriched. I was afraid that perhaps the atmosphere would not be lively, that there would be dead calm. No, it turns out that the atmosphere was very lively, and I think that it was a lesson for me and it will be a lesson for many Poles.

UNDERGROUND 'ACTIVISTS' REPORTEDLY SURRENDER

Korcz, Tankiewicz Speak

LD251448 Warsaw PAP in English 1404 GMT 25 Aug 83

[Text] Warsaw 25 Aug -- Polish TV presented yesterday night two activists of the underground structure of the former Solidarnosc who had turned themselves in to take advantage of the Amnesty Act. They were Zenon Tankiewicz, 35, radio fitter, vice-chairman of the lower Silesian strike committee, and Waldemar Korcz, 27, electrician, a member of a terrorist group called into being by the underground. Both of them operated in the Glogow area.

They spoke extensively on their activities in the prime time TV "Deliberations" programme.

Waldemar Korcz admitted that he had planted an explosive at the militia mess hall in Glogow in October 1982. The explosive did not go off. In telling the story, Waldemar Korcz gave to understand he had fallen prey to premeditated manipulators of social moods, good faith and false ambitions.

In recalling his meetings with the KOR activists, Zenon Tankiewicz emphasized that Karol Modzelewski was commonly called the gray eminence of the first national congress of Solidarnosc. In one breath he also listed Pinior and Frasyniuk.

Said Waldemar Korcz: "I regard easy submission to alien arguments and influence by many Poles as a national mistake."

"I know that many people get involved in these affairs only because they cannot say 'no,' that they are not able to say it tough 'I think otherwise.'"

Says Zenon Tankiewicz: "Workers do want rule of law, justice, respect for work, good pay and overcoming the crisis. Political programmes of those or other gentlemen who operate underground or abroad are alien to them."

He ended his TV appearance with an appeal to those who carry on their underground Solidarnosc activities. "This simply does not make sense," said he.

'Temporary' Arrests Made

LD291808 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1620 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] Szczecin -- Activists of the former Solidarity union are coming out of hiding. Another 3 people, who until now have been active in the underground, have reported to the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs in Pila. One of these is Eugeniusz S., an employee of the rolling stock repair works in Pila, who was a distributor of underground publications.

Also in Pila, the security service of the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs has discovered and is conducting an investigation into the dissemination of printed matter containing false information concerning state organs and calling for demonstrations and social unrest. Considerable quantities of printed matter sponsored by the so-called underground regional executive commission of the former NSZZ Solidarity in Pila were confiscated. The voivodship prosecutor in Pila has placed two people under temporary arrest: Zdzislaw S. and Kazimierz S.

JARUZELSKI SPEECH AT MILITARY SCHOOL CEREMONY

LD282124 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1615 GMT 28 Aug 83

[Speech by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, premier of the PPR and minister of national defense, at the graduation ceremony at the Tadeusz Kosciuszko Mechanized Troops College in Wroclaw on 28 August -- recorded]

[Text] Dear young officers! Esteemed participants! I greet you on the day which is so meaningful for the school, the day which all present here will remember so warmly. I share your joy and pride. There is a personal motive in this. I received my first officer's star from the wartime predecessor of this school. It is difficult for young soldiers born in a free homeland to realize, sometimes, how meaningful to us was the eagle on our four-cornered cap, our Polish uniform and arms which we accepted as an augury of return, of liberation of the homeland. The school was formed on Soviet soil. We of the war generation will always recall it with emotion, just as we recall the difficulties of our youth of friends fallen in battle. It has a rich history. We remember our commanders and educators who built, developed, and consolidated this ambitious, excellent school. Thanks to their work at every stage of its development it served the cause of People's Poland well.

We remember with special gratitude the assistance given by our Soviet comrades-in-arms. Many of them have confirmed the internationalist ideals, a true brotherhood of nations, in the ranks of the Polish Army by making a tribute with their own blood. You have been taught military skills combined with respect for patriotic and liberation traditions. The approaching September anniversary recalls the unprecedented tragedy of our nation and the heroic struggle of millions of Poles, first a defensive one, and later for liberation at home and on all fronts of World War II. There is only one Poland, one measure of blood shed for her. There is also a contemporary measure of selfless service and toil, unceasing solicitude for the homeland. Young comrades-in-arms! You are entering a regular officer's path. The years of your study have coincided with an exceptionally difficult period. Thus it was a tough and good school of life. Officer candidates of all schools and classes lived up to their tasks.

Also you, as of today engineer-commanders whom the homeland entrusts with new rights and new responsibilities, were among them. Our Army grows from the people and serves the people. It has no other aims, and cannot have them. The Army does not reach for power, because the latter is exercised by constitutional organs. Not for privileges, because our main privilege is the trust which the nation has in its army. The introduction and then the lifting of martial law were two links in the same feeling of responsibility, of deep concern for the highest good of Poland. No honest Pole can negate that. Only those who have understood nothing and do not want to understand are trying to upset or distort this truth. The Amnesty Act creates broad possibilities for a return to normal life. We do not demand that anyone renounce differing views. We will not lack patience. The people's power knows how to be tolerant. However, it is sufficiently strong to call to order those who would like to assail the calm restored with such difficulty.

Citizen officers, you have acquired military knowledge in Piast Wroclaw, liberated by the Soviet Army, reconstructed and expanded by great toil with Polish hands. Successive generations of young Poles born here are reaching maturity. No inhabitant of this beautiful city, one of the most dynamic industrial, academic, and cultural centers of the country, imagines that it can be called anything different. But again voices can be heard that its only name is Breslau.

The experience of many years shows that the revisionist ambitions are revived only when the world situation is worsened and Poland is doing badly. In this matter there is no room for leaving things unsaid, no room for excuses; whoever attempts to create tension in Poland, to create a state of uncertainty [stan tymczasowosci] and disintegration -- this person gives arguments and ammunition to our ancient enemies, and he acts to harm Poland.

International relations are worsening. Europe is in danger of deployment of American missiles which can reach targets in our country in a few minutes. These missiles are a lesson in political thinking for every Pole. Twice this year the international situation was the subject ofmeetings of representatives of leaders of Warsaw Pact states. A wise compromise is being proposed. Another proof of this was contained in the extremly valuable Soviet initiative announced yesterday. Attempts by NATO to disturb the balance of power will be met with a proper [stosowna] response. Only those who care about peace before it is too late are safe.

Comrades-in-arms, officers. The profession you have chosen is difficult, one of the most difficult. It requires many personal sacrifices, strength of will, self-discipline. It is not just a choice of a profession, it is a moral choice, an ideological declaration of a patriotic and socialist content. Granting of officer's rank is a sign of special trust. One should highly value such trust, as well as the support of the community given to its armed forces, which accompanies you at this ceremony.

You will be appointed to commanding posts in army units. You will have young people in your charge -- precious national assets. You will toughen them up, train them, and educate them; you will make efficient fighting collectives of them. Inspire the patriotic zeal of the soldiers -- their love of the homeland, faithfulness to the nation, their trust in the nation's leading forces, the PZPR. May the principles of professional ethics reach deep into your hearts and minds. Guard the dignity of the uniform! Be critical! Combat courageously all unfairness and evil! Be strict but fair, demanding but modest and friendly! When you are looking for the guilty party, always start with yourselves!

You are members of the great military family. Soldiers in active service and in the reserves belong to it. The link which ties them has passed the test during the recent difficult period. Look after it incessantly! This is what rallies the People's Army of Poland.

I have the honor of awarding the Order of the Labor Banner, First Class, which has been given by the Council of State to the Higher Officers' School of Mechanized Troops named after Tadeusz Kosciuszko. The oldest military establishment of higher education has deserved this honorable distinction. On behalf of the leadership of the party, the government, the Ministry of National Defense, I warmly congratulate the cadre of the school as well as its civilian employees, its students and graduates. Being with you at the time of your graduation, thanking you for your solid work for 4 years, which has ended with your promotion to officers, I wish all of you young comrades-in-arms luck in your service, happiness in your personal life, and may all your wishes come true. May your youth, knowledge and energy bring Poland as much benefit as possible. I am directing these words today to all graduates who today are experiencing a similar moment at other military establishments of higher education.

Recalling with grief and respect the commander General Leszek Kozlowski who died so recently, I would like to convey my cordial thanks to the commanders and all the staff of your school for their fruitful educational efforts. I share the feelings of the parents of officers who have been promoted today. I convey my cordial thanks to them for bringing their sons up as righteous citizens devoted to People's Poland.

I thank the voivodship and municipal party and state authorities. I thank the factories and institutions, the working class, and all inhabitants of Wroclaw for their positive stance and friendly attitude toward our soldiers. I thank academics from Wroclaw higher education establishments for their many years of cooperation and their educational and upbringing assistance. I greet everybody who is here to participate in this traditional ceremony.

Dear young friends! You are almost half the age of the Polish People's Army. Its beginnings belong to legend. Your lives have just started. They are like a strong thread linking the oldest and youngest people in our Army.

I am convinced that you will not let us down in any need, that in your service to the nation, in your fulfilling of the soldier's duty, it is possible to rely on you. The holy cause of defending socialist Poland is being conveyed to you!

ARMY UNIONS HOLD TALKS WITH MINISTRY OFFICIALS

LD272113 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 27 Aug 83

[Text] A meeting of the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense with representatives of trade unions of the Army's civilian personnel has been held in Warsaw.

Matters pertaining to the unions' activities in military units, institutions, and production enterprises subordinate to the Ministry of National Defense were comprehensively discussed. Taking the floor during the discussion, the union representatives informed the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense about the creation of the new union movement. The constant growth of the ranks of the unions and trends toward setting up a federation have been talked about. Postulates put forward by the community in the context of the forthcoming congress were conveyed. At the same time, the meeting furnished an opportunity to exchange views on forms and methods of union work.

TRADE UNION MEETING IN KATOWICE ASSESSED

LD291558 Warsaw PAP in English 1414 GMT 29 Aug 83

[By PAP Journalist Romana Kalecka]

[Text] Warsaw 29 Aug -- Trade unions, whose voice sounded so firm and powerful at the national meeting between trade union delegations and representatives of Poland's supreme authorities at the Baildon steel works in Katowice last week, are the party whose opinion was so badly missing from public life for the last few years in Poland. Finally, after a year's absence and after nearly 8 months of reconstructing their organizational structures from scratch, trade unions returned to the public forum to claim the interests of worker crews and their due place in the country's sociopolitical system.

The very fact that the meeting at the Baildon lasted 11 hours, 6 hours beyond the schedule, proves that it was not organized according to any scheme. This also indicated that a host of complex employee grievances and general social problems which require trade union intervention have accumulated over the last few years, when trade unions were absent and earlier still when they were preoccupied with quite different matters.

Trade unionists at the Baildon firmly demanded solutions to the most urgent issues, though they proved to be aware of the facts under which employee claims have to be settled and of the economic conditions which are particularly ill suited for any vindictive claims, and also of the need to take the requirements of the economic reform into account.

The talk at the Baildon was regular -- if tough-worded -- and it had the fundamental feature of dialogue, namely the principle of listening to the other side and willingness to understand their argument.

This was a talk between partners, a discussion in which both sides considered ways to reconcile interests which sometimes were at variance, and how to find solutions which would be best both for individual professional groups and for entire society under the tough conditions at present.

A common interest makes it imperative for each side to care for strengthening the partner: the authorities want powerful trade unions, and trade unions want a powerful state, as only then can the democratic aspirations of working people be effected and their material and spiritual needs met. And this seems to be the main conclusion from the Katowice forum, which is likely to mark a turning point in the latest history of the trade union movement in Poland.

WARSAW TV NAMES WRITERS SUPPORTING NEW UNION

LD292332 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] Support from all over the country is coming in for the statement adopted by a group of writers during a meeting in the Warsaw publishing house on 20 August. Here are the names of other writers who expressed their readiness to participate in the work of recreating the professional and creative organization of writers: (Marta Aluchna Emeljanow), (Leszek Bakula), (Jozef Binczak), (Ryszard Binkowski), (Karol Olgierd Borhard), (Stanislaw Edward Bury), (Stanislaw Hacinski), (Jan Tycznin), (Irene Dobielewics), (Jan Goczol), (Ryszard Jegorow), (Zbigniew Jerzyna), (Zbigniew Kiszka), (Josef Emkolgonowicz), (Henryk Jackowicz), (Ryszard Kornacki), (Slawomir Kryska), (Wlodzimierz Krzeminski), (Adolf Lekki), (Zygmunt Mikulski), (Hanna Muszynska-Hoffman), (Longin Jan Okon), (Jan Piepka), (Wieslaw Rogowski), (Dionizy Idorowski), (Wlodzimierz Slobodnik), (Eleonora Slobodnikowa), (Wladyslaw Strezelecki), (Edward Szuster), (Kazimierz Sniadecki), (Roman Sliwonik), (Ludwik Swierzacki), (Jerzy Wlenczyk), (Wiktor Welcz), (Aleksander Wojciechowski), (Jozef Wojcicki), (Zygmunt Gajler-Zborowski), (Tadeusz Zolcinski), (Leszek Zulinski) and (Andrzej Zurowski).

WEEKLY WARNS AGAINST 'VOLUNTARISM' AMONG WORKERS

AU211818 Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish 14 Aug 83 p 5

[Wojciech Pomykalo commentary: "The Other Side of Voluntarism"]

[Excerpts] It has commonly been accepted that voluntarism is an erroneous practice observed by those in power, a practice which does not take reality into account, and which plans tasks that allow for future development that can never really be implemented. By voluntarism we mean a way of governing which was used to plan and implement tasks in Poland by the Gierek administration in particular, in the seventies.

This is why we must constantly be on the alert for voluntarism as if it were a particularly pressing danger, if it appears among the decisionmakers. However, if the dangers that voluntarism among the decisionmakers can bring are widely known, then the belief in the dangers of voluntarism and the voluntaristic point of view held by working people has not yet been generally perceived.

The voluntarism that is evident among workers, peasants, and a considerable number of the intelligentsia who do not belong to the decisionmaking group, is also dangerous, and even extremely dangerous. This is, of course, a different kind of danger compared to the voluntarism of the decisionmakers, but it is by no means insignificant. An expression of the voluntarism shared by working people is the belief occasionally voiced that the socialist state has a discretional right to lower prices and to increase wages and in effect the standard of living of working people, and that everything basically depends mainly on the good or bad-will of the decisionmakers who are in power. Such a belief can become a crucial source of social tension, and even of conflicts, because as prices and wages depend solely on the decisionmakers, then it will only be necessary to put the right kind of pressure on them to improve the standard of living of this or another group of employees. It is also this kind of thinking that brings about the "us" and "them" division, dividing us into the governors and the governed, and into the givers of all that is good and the receivers. It was due to this voluntaristic way of viewing the socialist state that strikes, pay demands, and the conflicts that occurred during the late seventies and the early eighties came about. We must also clearly state that the voluntaristic way of appraising these phenomena is also being employed by certain circles of working people at the present time.

If a cure for voluntarism among decisionmakers is for them to understand the mechanics of achieving national success, as well as the economic and technical capabilities of these mechanisms, then the main cure for overcoming voluntarism among working people is to make wages directy proportional to work productivity, ensure that the work force of a given plant takes part in its gains and its losses, and to draw up a clear bill of the costs, prices, and wages which are being implemented in the industrial plant in question. Seeing it from this angle, it seems that the economic reform which is being implemented is the only cure that effectively overcomes the voluntarist way working people have of regarding the functioning of the socialist state.

This is also why the economic reform is not only a way of intensifying our development, but it also gives us the chance to assess the competence of the decisionmakers , and to overcome the voluntarism that also occurs among working people. This does not, of course, mean that educating working people in economics during the economic reform is unnecessary, but the reform is creating a reality that will prevent this education from being a sketchy one, being instead a basis for understanding how economic success is achieved, how we can ensure that we will have a part in it, and how we should unite the interests of the state and its economy with the interests of the worker. It is also for this reason that in the struggle against voluntarism, we must perceive its dangers not only among the decisionmakers, but we must also learn to overcome it and to create conditions under which it could be overcome anywhere we come across these dangers, including on the other side of the decisionmakers's desk.

PZPR'S CZECHOWICZ ATTENDS LODZ FACTORY MEETING

LD292352 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] Tadeusz Czechowicz, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee, met with representatives of the textile industry when he attended a meeting of the factory party organization at the (Polmerino) weaving factory in Lodz, of which he is a member.

A discussion was held which went on for many hours, a businesslike talk about problems prevailing in the workers' milieu, under the slogan: "Agreements Cannot Be Implemented Through Boycotts."

All discussions during the deliberations on the subject of improving conditions stressed the need for labor productivity and increasing production. These are essential for further normalization of the situation in Poland.

BEJGER RECEIVES SOVIET NAVY GROUP 24 AUG

LD270418 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 24 Aug 83

[Text] Stanislaw Bejger, candidate member of the Politburo, first secretary of the Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee, today met a delegation from the fraternal Soviet Navy, which was visiting the coast. It was headed by Rear Admiral Similetyenko, first deputy head of the Political Directorate of the Soviet Baltic Fleet. The guests were accompanied by Rear Admiral Ludwik Dutkowski, deputy commander for navy political affairs. In the course of the meeting, which was held in a cordial atmosphere, views were exchanged on the subject of the current situation in world politics, with stress being laid on the dangerous tendency of Western policy to intensify the arms race.

DEFENSE COMMITTEES ANALYZE SOCIAL 'PHENOMENA'

LD292231 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] The Voivodship Defense Committee together with the Secretariat of the Voivodship PZPR Committee has analyzed the current socio-political situation in Warsaw and the Warsaw Voivodship and discussed certain issues in connection with phenomena of social pathology which occur in Warsaw and its voivodship.

The analysis of the current socio-economic situation was also the subject of sessions of voivodship defense committees in Lodz and Gorzow Wielkopolski.

The conviction was expressed that the work forces of industrial enterprises will perform their characteristic solid work and demonstrate understanding for the public need during the next few days despite the calls to disturb the pace of work.

OFFICIAL CITES GRAIN PROCUREMENT, PURCHASE PLANS

LD281648 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 28 Aug 83

[Excerpts] This year's harvesting is coming to an end. Anna Andrzejewska talks to Kazimierz Grzesiak, deputy minister of agriculture and food economy, on this year's procurement of grain, imports, and prospects for the future.

[Andrzejewska] Please treat this as a consumer's question. There is general feeling that procurement of grain is good. So far 3,500,000 metric tons of grain have been purchased, and one can conclude that harvesting was quite good after a beautiful summer. But I want to know whether it is good to purchase grain from the farmers so early; do we have the right conditions to store it carefully for the whole year?

[Grzesiak] We are giving the facts. At the same time we want to assure the people who work in procurement centers, because for the first time in 2 years grain procurement is really good.

[Andrzejewska] So, the report of 3,500,000 metric tons is not the last word?

[Grzesiak] No, we want to purchase as much grain as possible, so the procurement will go on as long as the grain comes to the procurement centers. But I want to say that we do not buy grain only to store it.

[Andrzejewska] One thing worries me. If the farmers sell the grain so willingly, does it mean that they won't need it for feed? What about meat and livestock breeding?

[Grzesiak] According to our information, 30 percent of the grain from previous years' harvests was delivered to the procurement centers. Because this year's crop will be higher than last year, we expect about 22 million metric tons; we will buy 1 million more, which will be 4.5 million metric tons. There will be enough grain left to meet feedstuff needs.

[Andrzejewska] A good crop, very good procurement, and still we have to import grain this year.

[Grzesiak] It is necessary. We want to be able to produce good noodles in this country without buying high gluten wheat. We won't produce high quality bread unless we buy high gluten wheat. We have a deficit of corn. One cannot produce chicken meat without corn. So we have to import corn. And we have deficit in protein components which are necessary for an increase in meat production.

[Andrezjewska] How much, where, and what are we going to buy? Surely not on credit, because no one would sell us anything on credit terms.

[Grzesiak] We have already bought a considerable amount, and we are still buying. We are interested in making contracts with all those who want to trade with us. This procurement we were talking about in the beginning reflects gradual improvement on the market and of the economic situation in our country. Some market mechanisms are beginning to function.

BRIEFS

REPORT ON FIRES -- To date, over 17,000 fires have been recorded countrywide this year. Some 173 persons, including 39 children and 6 firemen, have lost their lives and 536 persons have been injured in the course of these fires. Direct material losses have now exceeded 3 billion zlotys. [Excerpt] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Aug 83 p 5 AU]

MEETING MARKS SECURITY BODIES' ANNIVERSARY

AU291848 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1818 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 29/8/1983 -- On August 29 Bucharest hosted a festive meeting celebrating 35 years since the setting up, by the RCP, of the security bodies.

Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, participated.

Also participating were Gheorghe Homostean, minister of internal affairs, Tudor Postelnicu, minister secretary of state and chief of the State Security Department, members of the Steering Council of the Ministry of the Interior, the party and command active of the State Security Department, representatives of the management of ministries and central institutions, party and state activists, generals and reserve officers.

During the meeting Emil Bobu read the message addressed by President Nicolae Ceausescu on the occasion to the security bodies, to all the people working in the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Next, Tudor Postelnicu read a report on the activity carried out by the security bodies in defence of the people's revolutionary gains, of the homeland's independence and sovereignty, as well as on the tasks devolving upon them from the documents of the twelfth congress and of the National Conference of the RCP.

In conclusion, the participants in the meeting sent a telegram to Nicolae Ceausescu RCP general secretary, president of Romania and supreme commander of the Armed Forces.

PLANS FOR EXPLOITING OIL SHALES NOTED

AU301120 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0911 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 30/08/1983 -- Besides deposits of oil shales various deposits of marl and asphaltic limestone and other sedimentary rocks have been identified in Romania, the capitalization of which is stipulated in the energy programme in force in the current decade. According to the studies made of the deposits in Resita-Moldova Noua region, the capitalization of these resources started for industrial and energy-producing purposes. A specialized mining enterprise has been set up to this end that started functioning near Anina where oil shales cover an extensive area also going down to 1,000 M. A thermo-power station is in a final building stage there which will have an installed generating capacity equal to that of the Iron Gates Plant. According to the tests made so far the calorific power of the shales in that region is of 1,300 kcal/g. Experts assess that the open quarry alone can ensure a steady production for 80 years, while the undersurface deposit for more than 300 years. The ashes, which are rich in iron, aluminum oxide and other useful substances, will be processed and used also in the building material industry.

Recent geological tappings identified new deposits of asphaltic rocks of high economic interest in the eastern Carpathians and the neighbouring areas. Studies have been made of the ways of capitalizing them especially for energy generation.

BORBA REJECTS ZHIVKOV'S CLAIMS ON MACEDONIANS

AU300822 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27-28 Aug 83 p 8

[Vladimir Matovic commentary: "New Scenario for Old Shots"]

[Text] Throughout the period until 1956, the top Bulgarian political leadership was making territorial claims against other states; this is how it was until Todor Zhivkov became the head of the Bulgarian state and party. This claim is made by Bulgarian President Todor Zhivkov in an interview he gave to American journalist Cyrus Sulzberger which was published by the Rome newspaper LA REPUBBLIC on 27 July this year.

The new thesis on the ethnical genesis of our neighbors expounded by Todor Zhivkov in the same interview is also equal to a discovery: There are the "Bulgarians of Macedonian origin" and "those of Thracian origin." Regarding the increasingly apparent uncertainties in relation to the current national question, he has a ready answer in the simple statement: "It is the governments which must decide who should determine the nationality of the inhabitants of their countries."

In the approximately 2,000-word interview published by the Rome daily, the Bulgarian president also speaks about a number of current vital problems: the preservation of peace in the world, European security, the Balkan situation, and especially his country's relations with neighboring countries. He also speaks about the issues that are less universal, but more sensitive.

Rejecting the charges of Bulgaria's involvement in the attempt on the life of the pope, he explains this in the following manner:

"It has never happened that a Bulgarian has fired at a man and missed, or made love to a woman and failed to satisfy her."

This is what Zhivkov says. Sex and terrorism and the political meaning of these concepts and phenomena have always been discussed publicly with extreme restraint and the greatest possible sensitivity. How should we now interpret the meaning of the statement published by the Rome newspaper LA REPUBBLICA and thereby forever attributed to the Bulgarian president?

Some are inclined to seek a hidden meaning in the first part of the sentence, that is, perhaps, a reminder or a threat of "effect per shot fired." Any deliberations or discussions about the shots fired by the Bulgarians in the near or distant past would take us too far; this is a separate topic. Others pay greater attention to the second part of the sentence, the meaning of a public announcement of the effect in the pleasures of love. In view of the sensitivity of the topic, it seems to us that the most appropriate thing to do is to refrain from any kind of comment on the words or sentence which provide reasons for the most diverse conclusions.

Why We Have Stayed Silent

Some 3 or 4 weeks have passed since the appearance of the Bulgarian president's interview in LA REPUBBLICA. But we have sacrificed one of the basic rules of the journalistic profession, the rule of quick reaction, to a principle which is predominantly ethical, that is, the painstaking verification of the authenticity of the individual statements in the interview. This loss of time resulted from our disbelief that everything was said as it was printed, not only when the president of the neighboring state spoke about sex and terrorism, but also when he speaks about some far more complex issues.

It must also be admitted that the interview includes some answers which are indisputable and acceptable but nevertheless confusing. We quote: "We have never discussed the method by which Yugoslavia discusses its own affairs. Briefly, Bulgaria is building a dogmatic socialism and Yugoslavia is building a creative socialism. No one knows which of the two will be more successful. I think that it is possible to make all kinds of interpretations."

Do the interpretations follow then?

In the past 30 days, Sofia has made no statements and provided no explanations in connection with that interview about which it cannot be said that it has not attracted attention, especially when the president of the state or party is involved. Waiting for a possible explanation, we made an effort to obtain the original version of the interview in English. For the Italian newspaper clearly indicates that the interview was published on the basis of a special reprint arrangement between LA REPUBBLICA and THE NEW YORK TIMES.

And the comparison showed that everything is identical, from words to punctuation. And, unfortunately, the two versions of the following answer are also identicial:

"There is no Macedonian nationality in Bulgaria. There is none and there never has been." Is it necessary to comment on claims of this kind? At one time only the Balkan monarchs made such claims, proclaiming by decree that one of the oldest peoples and earliest cultures in this region is nonexistent.

This Must Not Be Passed Over in Silence

Todor Zhivkov often, including in this interview, considers it his duty to speak on the consistency of the policy and views of the BCP Central Committee. However, he does not think that he is called upon and obliged to publicly explain who, when, how, and why there has been a revision of the resolution of the BCP Central Committee on the "Macedonian Question" which was unanimously adopted at the 10th Plenum on 9-10 August 1946. Shall we recall?

"The Bulgarian Workers' Party (at that time, this is what the BCP was called -- our explanation) believes that the main part of the Macedonian people has organized itself in a state based on national spirit as the People's Republic of Macedonia within the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia...."

It would take too long to enumerate the views of the leadership of Bulgarian Communists on "other parts of the Macedonian people" and other truths which are being now most grossly falsified in Sofia by involving among other things also the views of the Bulgarian party. Does Todor Zhivkov understand the fact that he did not preside over certain individual sessions of the leadership to mean that the policy of the Bulgarian party, or perhaps even the history of the Bulgarian people and state, began only in 1956?

Questions Without Answers

Todor Zhivkov, the first man and, as he himself points out, the one for nearly 3 decades occupying the highest position of authority in Bulgaria, also owes us an answer to this question: How long will Sofia official circles continue to promote a double approach and policy toward Yugoslavia? In his interview he points out that "during the year, our relations have continued to improve." He speaks about Yugoslavia as "our neighbor" and as a "socialist country." The Macedonians are one of the peoples who make up this Yugoslavia, but this people, its history and culture, and everything existing do not exist for the Sofia official circles and the head of the Bulgarian state!

At the same time as the Bulgarian president speaks to the world about his government's efforts to develop good-neighborly relations and to strengthen peace in Europe, a campaign of demonstrative meetings is in full swing throughout Bulgaria, a campaign of meetings at which, under the guise of science, the official ideologists, state historians, and, increasingly, also higher and higher military officials continue to appropriate the history of the Macedonian people. One of the brightest dates and the pride of the Macedonians, the Ilinden uprising, is being publicly proclaimed in Sofia as the "national epopee of the Bulgarian people."

The history of this "history" which has been presented in the neighboring country in recent months has been known since long ago: It is a repeat performance of the individual chapters of the annexationist programs of the San Stefano Bulgaria. The suitable fragments from the Bulgarian national-chauvinist ideology are being resuscitated in a vampire-like manner, and they are used to awaken also the annexationist dreams, passions, and divisions in the Balkans, the "powderkeg" at one time. This legality granted to the nationalist passions and other similar articles for "domestic consumption" in Bulgaria and, at the same time, the role of sacrifices for peace and good-neighborly relations on the European scene are becoming increasingly transparent.

However, in the basket of the most diverse topics which the Bulgarian president discusses in his interview given to the Rome daily, it is necessary to complete some inarticulate announcements and sort out the most confused concepts and the most contradictory theses. Not everything can be answered by conveying several meanings, and answers opening the possibility for "all possible interpretations," as the Bulgarian president says, are not suitable for all questions. Borders are still a fact in the world and period in which we live.

If it is the right of every citizen, including the head of the state, to publicly speak, within limits and one's own measures of freedom and taste, about the matters which fall within the sphere of what is intimate and personal, then the responsibility for public statements on the issues which concern the general national interest, pride, and future of an entire people is also understandable. The hierarchical elevation, the privileges of position or the power of institutions do not ensure also an immunity for public and irresponsible negations of the existence of a people of several million members, and for disputing the sovereignty of its social community.

The Macedonian nation and state are a reality of new Yugoslavia and the contemporary world, and so also is the borderline whose violation would be considered by every individual Yugoslav as a matter of honor, security, and future of his socialist self-managing community. It is known that, many times in the distant and, unfortunately, also in recent past, we have been compelled to repeat and even to prove this. The motives of those who force us again to make this known to them continue to be unknown.

CARDINAL KUHARIC SPEAKS ON CROATIAN ROOTS

LD262331 Vatican City in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia 1700 GMT 26 Aug 83

[Excerpts] The latest issue of GLAS KONCILA, which has just come off the presses and which bears the date of 28 August, is very rich in content.

There is an extensive review of the visit which Cardinal Franjo Kuharic paid to Bosnia and Dalmatia -- that is, to shrines in Maglaj, Sarajevo, Sinj, and Kastel villages -- and excerpts from his sermons. In his sermon held at the Stomorje shrine above the Kastel villages in the evening of Assumption day [15 August], Cardinal Franjo Kuharic said among other things:

Brothers and sisters, man is a concrete person, there is no such a thing as an abstract man. Man is deeply rooted, first, in his family, where he received life. Through his family he also has roots in another, broader community, which is called the people, the nation. And just as man has his own personal identity, dignity and specific features, so a nation has its identity. Every nation has one. There are many elements which make up this identity. This is the history of a nation. All of us born in Croatian families are deeply rooted in the history of the Croatian nation. We inherit this history. This is our history, these are our centuries, Cardinal Kuharic said and went on:

These are also our 13 centuries, this is also our language, the language of our mother, the language of our homeland, the language of our nation. We inherit the culture. Every nation includes in its identity its history, culture, language. And, therefore, every nation under God's sun is worthy of being liked and respected, and of enjoying all the rights which belong to a national identity. Our patriotism is inspired by these thoughts and imbued by the Gospel.

Having stressed how Jesus Christ, God and man, had particularly loved his people, Cardinal Kuharic went on with his sermon on the Assumption Day at the Shrine of the Lady of Stomorje as follows:

Christ, therefore, teaches every believer, and the Church, to love the people in which he is rooted and in which he lives. To love one's nation does not mean to hate some other nation. No! It is our right, our truth, and our love that we declare ourselves to be what we are. Therefore, let nobody object to our declaring ourselves as Croats, to our speaking about the Church in Croatia. Nobody has any grounds -- to whatever nation and to whatever conviction he might belong -- to object to our expressing this patriotism of ours, these deep roots, and this history of ours also by singing our national anthem. The anthem is the good of every nation and is the property of every member of that nation regardless of his conviction. We do not equate nationality and religion; we do not assert that to be a Croat also means at the same time to be a Catholic, a believer. Because, to be a Catholic, a believer, is another level, another category. And, therefore, there can be Croats who are not Catholics, who are not believers. And we do not object to their singing our national anthem. In the same vein, let nobody criticize us because on our special occasions and celebrations we thank God for his gift of our beautiful homeland, when we sing our national anthem as part of our prayers. We, therefore, resolutely reject accusations about so-called clero-nationalism; we merely live our patriotism and our consciousness, linked with the generations of the past and grateful for the heritage which we have received and we want this dignified consciousness, worthy of respect, also passed on to our young people for our future.

I have already said it publicly: When I love my nation and what I wish for my nation I also wish for every other nation under the sun. And instructed by the Gospel, I can only wish well. Some values have to be emphasized in order to avoid misunderstandings.

The rest of what Cardinal Kuharic said in his sermon at the Lady's Shrine of Stomorje above the Kastel villages on Assumption Day can be found in the latest issue of GLAS KONCILA.

PRISTINA LC COMMITTEE DISCUSSES IRREDENTISM

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[Text] Pristina, 27 Aug (TANJUG) -- The session of the Pristina League of Communists Municipal Committee Presidium, in an expanded form, today made an assessment of the political security situation and concluded that the continued normalization of the situation remains the most important task for all subjects. Though to a considerably lesser extent than before, the enemy is continuing its organized activity. This is manifested in the writing of slogans, among which the one -- Kosovo, a republic -- dominates, in the dissemination of letters and leaflets, in sabotage, fires, willful damage, verbal propaganda...

Azem Vlasi, president of the Pristina League of Communists Municipal Committee, stressed that Albanian nationalists and irredentists are also ready for crude methods of activity. Vlasi insists, therefore, on more efficient activity by progressive forces, and above all by the League of Communists, by which the opportunities for the enemy's organized activity will be diminished.

A number of criminal acts have been registered this year. Economic crimes are on the increase. There are frequent clashes between members of various nationalities; verbal propaganda is widespread and has a long tradition in these areas. Propaganda from Tirana continues to be very aggressive. With their perfidious activity, Albanian nationalists and irredentists want to keep up the atmosphere of dissatisfaction and widen the gap of intranational mistrust.

On the other hand, Serbian nationalists are trying to create the impression that nothing has changed in Kosovo and that there are no forces which are capable of bringing the stabilization process to a conclusion. They say that Albanian cadres are all of the same kind and that the Serbian cadres are incapable careerists who cannot represent the Serbian people.

What encumbers the entire political security situation in Pristina most is the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins who are leaving for economic and social reasons but, above all, on account of disrupted equality, strained intranational relations and the entire atmosphere created by the counterrevolution of the Albanian irredentists.

Taking part in the debate, Sefcet Jasari, president of the Kosovo Presidency, said that it is impermissible for Communists to abandon the front of the struggle and leave Kosovo. He stressed that to halt the emigration must be the preoccupation not only of the forums and sociopolitical organizations, but also of every citizen. Jasari also pointed out the provincial leadership's great responsibility for the lasting stabilization of the situation in Kosovo. He warned about various enemy organizations and groups associating and concentrating their forces, and said that this is the reason for the need that the League of Communists mobilize and expand the front for a more powerful battle against the enemy. The battle must be waged until even the smallest excess has disappeared.

The Pristina League of Communists Municipal Committee Presidium advocated energetic struggle against various negative phenomena in society, a struggle which is proceeding with variable intensity. Many to whom the force of law has been applied have succeeded in (?regrouping) and circumventing the regulations.

Legality should be implemented everywhere and public law and order established: people should be drawn closer together and a climate created which encourages life together in this multinational environment. Along with all this, the inflation of words should be replaced with creative work aimed at changing the difficult situation. This is the prime requirement for destroying the roots of the counterrevolution of the Albanian irredentists and reducing the range of its echo.

BRIEFS

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION DECREASE -- According to the announcement by the Federal Institute for Statistics after the 4-percent increase in June, industrial production in July fell by 1.6 percent compared with the same month last year, and for the first 7 months this year it was 0.1 percent lower than in the same period last year. Industrial production in July increased only in Macedonia, by 3.5 percent, and in Serbia, by 0.2 percent (in Serbia proper it increased by 1.4, in Vojvodina by 0.9 percent, while in Kosovo it decreased by 5.6 percent). It decreased in Bosnia-Hercegovina by 0.1, in Slovenia by 2.5, in Montenegro by 3, and in Croatia by 3.1 percent. As for individual industrial branches, in the January-June period coal processing production increased 23.3 percent, production and processing of tobacco 8.8 percent, production in ferrous metallurgy 8.7, in the electric power industry 8, in the chemical industry 6.9, and production of coal 6,6 percent. Production in nonferrous metallurgy, nonmetallic minerals processing, and the metal processing industry has been reduced by about 5 percent, production of oil, gas, iron ore, leather and furs by 4 percent, production of electrical machines and appliances and production in the rubber processing industry by about 3 percent, and production of transportation vehicles, finished wood products, finished textile products, food products, beverages, and timber and milled products by between 2.9 and 1.1 percent. Production in seven industrial branches has more or less remained at last year's level. [Summary] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 83 p 1 AU].

COAL PRODUCTION PLAN REDUCED -- According to the estimates of the General Association of Yugoslav Coal Mines, instead of the planned 60.7 million tons of coal, only about 58 million tons of coal will be produced this year, due to the shortage of railroad cars, spare parts, and workers. The shortage of railroad cars alone caused production to decrease by 200,000 to 300,000 tons. This coal was primarily intended for household consumption. In the first 7 months thermoelectric power plants received 21 million tons of coal out of the 32 million tons produced, or 7.4 percent more than in the same period last year. In the first 6 months, coal mines exported about 190,000 tons of coal out of the approved total of 400,000 tons. [Summary] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 83 p 1 AU]